DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 140 504 95 EA 009 694

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TITLE Recent Enrollment Trends in U.S. Nonpublic Schools: Final Report to the National Institute of Education.
SPONS AGENCY National Inst. of Education (DHEW), Washington, D.C.
PUB DATE Feb 77
CONTRACT NIE-400-76-0076
NOTE 116p.; Table on page 10 may not reproduce due to small type size

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.83 HC-$6.01 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Catholic Schools; *Declining Enrollment; Elementary Secondary Education; Enrollment Influences; Enrollment Projections; Enrollment Rate; *Enrollment Trends; *National Surveys; Parochial Schools; *Private Schools; *Statistical Data; Tables (Data)

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this survey was to examine recent (since 1965) and projected enrollment trends in the nation's nonpublic schools and to explore the causes and consequences of these trends. Information on 14 groups of private and parochial schools was collected, although the authors emphasize that their research was not exhaustive. The results show an overall decline from the 1965-66 enrollment high point to 1976, although Catholic schools suffered a much greater enrollment decline than other private and parochial schools. Some varieties of nonpublic schools (such as private alternative schools) have gained enrollment across the ten-year period. The data show that with the exception of Catholic schools, enrollment decline has generally been resisted in nonpublic schools. The data indicate that during the past five years, the demand for nonpublic schools has taken a decided upturn, especially for nonpublic schools that represent a strong protest against certain features of public education. On the basis of this data, the authors conclude that public disenchantment with the public schools is reaching serious proportions, particularly in some parts of the nation (the Deep South, Florida, and the Southwest). (Author/DS)

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ED140504

RECENT ENROLLMENT TRENDS IN U. S. NONPUBLIC SCHOOLS:

FINAL REPORT TO THE NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION

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February, 1977

The research reported herein was performed pursuant to Contract No. 400-76-0076 with the National Institute of Education, U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. Points of view or expressions of opinion stated herein do not necessarily reflect the official policy of the National Institute of Education.

EA 009 694

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In his landmark study of U. S. nonpublic schools, published in 1972, Kraushaar indicated that nonpublic school enrollment crested in 1965, and had been declining ever since.[1] As is well known, enrollment has been diminishing in most of the nation's public schools as well, during recent years (Table 32A). The present study is one of several commissioned by the National Institute of Education (NIE) during 1975-76. The apparent intention of the several investigations was to obtain a reasonably quick and accurate picture of recent and projected enrollment trends in public and nonpublic schools, along with analyses of the most plausible reasons for those trends. As well as being informative in their own right, the investigations might provide a basis for more extensive, conclusive research.

More specifically, the work reported in this paper was conducted in response to a request from NIE for an inquiry into recent and projected enrollment trends, and the most plausible causes and consequences thereof, in the nation's nonpublic schools. The temporal and fiscal limitations of the study ruled out a systematic national survey of nonpublic schools, along with the data that could be acquired only by such means. For example, since it was not possible to ask a systematic sample of parents about their reasons for patronizing nonpublic schools, we were forced to rely in this connection upon previous studies and upon perceptions which regional and national leaders of various groups of nonpublic schools were willing to share with us. Though it seems reasonable to assume that these leaders would know a great deal about what attracts or repels the patrons of their schools, their knowledge is not as trustworthy as first-hand reports from patrons themselves, and under some circumstances leaders might tend to de-emphasize motivations of an embarrassing sort--such as racial prejudice in some schools. In other respects (e.g., national enrollment trends), there is

every reason to believe that national agencies of various nonpublic school groups can provide more reliable data than we could obtain on our own. For instance, the National Catholic Education Association's data bank has been refining and improving its impressive data-acquisition capacities for several years.

The important point for the reader to keep in mind is simply this: Whereas we have acquired and analyzed a great deal of interesting and provocative information, there are several respects in which we are not reporting here the study we would have done if given adequate time and money. We will have numerous occasions to observe that some of our information embodies serious limitations. Our conclusions, accordingly, will reflect caution. When considering whether to conduct this study, we weighed the merits and demerits of the inquiry that was possible. We decided we must grasp this opportunity to produce a national picture of nonpublic school enrollment trends, even though we could not obtain all the evidence we thought important.

The time span considered in this document covers the ten years from 1965-66 (the high-water-mark year of nonpublic school enrollment documented by Kraushaar) to 1975-76. Kraushaar estimated the national nonpublic school enrollment, elementary and secondary, to be 6,305,000 at the 1965-66 zenith, falling by almost a million to 5,530,000 in 1970.[2] In comparison with public schools, nonpublic schools had fallen behind several years earlier (around 1959-60), for though nonpublic school enrollment continued to grow until 1965, public school enrollment grew more quickly. The nonpublic school share of the nation's students was 13.6 percent in 1959-60, but had dropped to 11.4 percent by 1969-70.[3]

Kraushaar noted that the nonpublic school enrollment decline did not represent losses in all nonpublic schools but was largely a reflection of

enrollment decrements in Roman Catholic schools, which at the time of his study accounted for 77 percent of the total nonpublic enrollment.[4] He reported modest recent setbacks in Lutheran, Calvinist, and Seventh Day Adventist schools, but said most nonpublic school groups not affiliated with the Catholic church had grown steadily, and in some cases (e.g., Jewish day schools), dramatically.[5]

Though much may have happened since Kraushaar gathered his last enrollment data (in 1970), to our knowledge the national figures have not been assembled and analyzed in reasonably comprehensive manner since that time. There has been some evidence, of course, to underline the need for a study of the present type. It was recently estimated, for example, that total nonpublic school enrollment, elementary and secondary, had diminished to 4,515,738 by 1974-75 (roughly one million below Kraushaar's figure of 5,530,000 for 1970, and nearly two million below his figure of 6,305,000 for 1965).[6] It was also estimated that the nonpublic school share of the nation's elementary and secondary student population had receded to 9.1 percent, as compared with Kraushaar's estimates of 13.6 percent in 1959-60 and 11.4 percent in 1969-70.[7] The same report indicated that some non-Catholic schools were continuing to grow but said nothing about the magnitude of the increases "because of the absence of data."[8] Interesting questions (several of which are discussed later in the present study) are raised by the fact that some nonpublic schools have suffered losses at the same time that others expanded, and by evidence that declines in some nonpublic schools have been more precipitous than public school declines during the same period.[9]

In the pages that follow, our work is reported under five major headings: (1) Focus and Methodology, (2) National Overview, (3) Group Trends, (4) Collaborative Responses, and (5) Generalizations and Conclusions. Under

"Focus and Methodology", we describe our research objectives and methods of data acquisition. Under "National Overview", we display and discuss the general enrollment trends during the ten-year period (1965-66 to 1975-76) for 13 major groups of nonpublic schools, as well as for the total. This national overview makes clear the relative numerical significance of each group of nonpublic schools within the national picture. Under "Group Trends", we analyze in greater detail the ten-year fluctuation for each group, beginning with Roman Catholic schools and ending with private "community alternative schools". Under "Collaborative Responses", we discuss strategies during this period that have involved the concerted efforts of numerous groups of nonpublic schools. In the final section, as its title implies, we articulate the generalizations and conclusions that our evidence appears to warrant.

1. FOCUS AND METHODOLOGY

Since the specific questions addressed in our research will become obvious as this report proceeds, it seems sufficient here to note that we attempted, though often unsuccessfully, given the limitations of the data available, to delineate the following for all major groups of nonpublic schools:

a) reliable enrollment figures;

b) enrollment projections;

c) major causative factors behind enrollment trends;

d) strategies adopted to cope with declines or maintain growth;

e) school characteristics altered because of enrollment shifts or associated phenomena;

f) current school conditions (staff, programs, finances, etc.); and

g) evidence of predictable school life-cycles.

As we noted earlier, it was impossible, within existing constraints of time and funds, to conduct a systematic national survey of nonpublic schools. We were limited, in the main, to seeking enrollment data and other information and opinion from the national offices of all groups maintaining such offices. We also drew upon studies then in process and upon the relevant literature. The information available for some groups was encouragingly systematic and extensive, largely because the national offices in question had set up systematic data-gathering arrangements. For some groups of nonpublic schools, however, reliable information for the ten-year period under study was extremely difficult to obtain. Readers will notice, consequently, some obvious gaps in our tables. Our discussion for some groups, in addition, is relatively thin, simply because there was no reasonably firm basis for attempting to say more. But it will be obvious, we think, that the total body of information acquired, often through sheer persistence and detective work, throws considerable light on recent enrollment trends in nonpublic schools and is laden with provocative implications for policy and further research. With minor exceptions, our data were gathered between March and August, 1976.

2. NATIONAL OVERVIEW

In Table 1 are reported the nonpublic school groups surveyed as part of the study, the number of school children they enrolled in 1975-76 (in one case, 1974-75), the total number of school children accounted for by all the

organizations, and the percentage share of the total enrollment belonging to each of the nonpublic school groups. Some overlap occurs in the table. Assembly of God schools, for example, typically join one of the umbrella Christian school organizations. Some Roman Catholic and Friends schools join the National Association of Independent Schools. These overlaps are not sufficient, however, to distort in any major way the proportions reported.

A quick glance at Table 1 reveals that the Roman Catholic schools account for the largest proportion by far of the school children enrolled (somewhat over 75 percent). Among the other groups, only the member schools of the National Association of Independent Schools and the Missouri Synod Lutheran schools claim more than three percent of the total. The remaining organizations typically enroll less than two percent of the children tallied. Quite obviously, the nonpublic school movement has been, and continues to be, largely (though decreasingly) a Roman Catholic phenomenon.

Because of extreme difficulties in obtaining data, some very small groups of nonpublic schools are not included in this table--such as Amish, Hutterite, and Black Muslim schools. Neither does the table include, in any systematic way, the "protest schools" discussed later, for reasons that will later be clear.

In Table 2 are listed the enrollment reported by virtually all the nonpublic school groups at three points during the ten-year period under study—in 1965-66, 1970-71, and 1975-76. Also reported are the percentages changes in enrollment for the entire decade and (when possible) for the subperiod, 1965-66 to 1970-71, and 1970-71 to 1975-76. When full enrollment figures were not available, a plus or minus was entered into the table to indicate whether (according to reports from relevant group leaders) the groups in question had been gaining or losing enrollment.

Table 1. Proportion of total U.S. nonpublic school enrollment accounted for by major nonpublic school groups, 1975-76

Nonpublic School Group	Enrollment 1975-76	Percentage of Total
1. Roman Catholic Schools	3,415,000	75.9
2. Lutheran Schools		
a. Missouri Synod	165,604	3.7
b. American Lutheran	16,121	0.4
c. Wisconsin Synod	31,183	0.7
3. Seventh Day Adventist Schools	75,722[a]	1.7
4. Calvinist Schools (National Union of Christian Schools)	48,585	1.1
5. Evangelical Schools		
a. National Association of Christian Schools	23,185	0.5
b. Western Association of Christian Schools	63,131	1.4
c. National Christian School Education Association	38,175	0.8
d. Assembly of God Christian Day Schools	21,921	0.5
e. American Association of Christian Schools	94,722	2.1
6. Jewish Day Schools		
a. National Society for Hebrew Day Schools (Orthodox)	82,200	1.8
b. Solomon Schechter Day Schools (Conservative)	7,965	0.2
c. Reform Jewish	373	0.01
7. National Association of Independent Schools	277,406	6.2
8. Episcopal		
a. Parish Day Schools	5,536	0.1
b. Nonparish Schools	71,020	1.6
9. Friends (Quaker) Schools	13,801	0.3
10. Military Schools	13,600	0.3
11. Greek Orthodox Schools	5,009	0.1
12. Mennonite Schools	8,079	0.2
13. Nonpublic Alternative (Free) Schools	23,498	0.5
TOTAL Enrollments Reported	4,501,836	100.11[b]

SOURCE: The source of data for each group is identified under the following section, "Group Trends."

[a] 1974-75.

[b] Because of rounding in calculation of percentages, they do not total to precisely 100.0.

In connection with Table 2 it should be noted that, while Roman Catholic schools suffered severe losses during this decade, most of the other groups reported enrollment increases, particularly during the period from 1970-71 to 1975-76, and a few groups registered dramatic gains. This growth, rather surprisingly, occurred at a time when the national supply of school-age children was diminishing and when operating costs in nonpublic schools, usually reflected in tuition levels, were spiraling rapidly, as we demonstrate in some detail later.

Other than the Roman Catholic schools, the only organizations showing declines in the Table 2 data are the National Union of Christian Schools (whose national leaders attribute the losses largely to declining birth rates among its constituents) and the National Association of Christian Schools (which, because of a major schism, lost the bulk of its school members during this period). The data on military schools are obviously inadequate, though several well informed observers say the military schools suffered severe losses during the decade, but have stabilized and even grown modestly of late. In the following section, these group-by-group enrollment trends are discussed in more detail.

3. GROUP TRENDS

ROMAN CATHOLIC SCHOOLS

Since the Roman Catholic schools, as we have seen, account for approximately 76 percent of the total nonpublic school enrollment, elementary and secondary, and are the only sizable group of nonpublic schools showing a serious net decline over the ten years from 1965-66 to 1975-76, they demand

more extensive discussion than any other single group.

Before the National Catholic Education Association's data bank began to produce comprehensive national data (for the period beginning in 1969-70), reliable national figures for the Roman Catholic schools were almost impossible to acquire, for it was rare indeed to secure anything approaching adequate participation from all U.S. dioceses in any data-gathering effort. The estimated national Catholic enrollment total for 1965 (the 1965-66 school year, we assume), is 5,564,000, falling to 4,983,000 by 1968-69.[10] This represents a loss of 581,000 students, roughly 10.4 percent of the 1965 total, and an average annual rate of attrition of something like three percent. By 1970-71, with much more reliable data now available, the figure was down to 4,364,000, and the annual setbacks were more serious.[11] During the three years from 1967-68 to 1970-71, the net loss was 878,000 students. Roughly 16.7 percent of the 1970-71 enrollment had disappeared; the annual rate of decline was averaging around six percent. Setbacks approaching or exceeding five percent occurred each year up to 1973-74 (7.5 percent by 1971-72, 5.8 percent by 1972-73, and 4.7 percent by 1973-74). Thereafter, the rate of diminution eased to 3.2 percent by 1974-75 and a rather negligible 2.6 percent by 1975-76.[12]

The current picture is better than many people had predicted. The 1974-75 and 1975-76 enrollment totals were 3,504,000 and 3,415,000, respectively, higher than the three million that Kraushaar reported some Catholic leaders, around 1970, to be projecting for 1975.[13] Also, while these leaders thought Catholic schools might lose half their peak enrollment (which came in 1965) by 1975,[14] the actual loss was 39 percent. The *elementary* Catholic school enrollment ran around 2,525,000 in 1975-76, higher than the 2.15 million projected by a University of Notre Dame study published in 1971.[15]

Table 2. Nonpublic school group enrollment trends, 1965-1975

Nonpublic School Group	Enrollments 1965-1966	Enrollments 1970-1971	% Change 65/66-70/71	Enrollments 1975-1976	% Change 70/71-75-76	% Change 65/66-75/76
1. Roman Catholic	5,573,810	4,364,000	-21.7	3,415,000	-21.7	-38.7
2. Lutheran						
a. Missouri Synod	171,966	163,386	-5.0	165,604	+1.4	-3.7
b. Wisconsin Synod	27,448	29,050	+5.8	31,183	+7.3	+13.6
c. American Lutheran	8,795	9,926	+12.9	16,121[d]	+62.4	+83.3
3. Seventh Day Adventist	50,465	no data	---	75,722	---	+50.0
4. Calvinist (National Union of Christian Schools)	51,240[a]	51,182	-0.1	48,585	-5.1	-5.2
5. Evangelical						
a. National Association of Christian Schools	32,003	50,860	+58.9	23,185	-54.4	-27.9
b. Western Association of Christian Schools	11,388	32,327	+183.9	63,131	+95.3	+454.4
c. National Christian School Education Assoc.[b]				38,175	+	
d. American Association of Christian Schools[b]				94,722[c]	+	
e. Assembly of God	3,110	7,462	+140.0	21,921	+193.8	+604.9
6. Jewish Day Schools						
a. National Society for Hebrew Day Schools (Orthodox)	68,800	75,000	+17.6	82,200	+9	+28.8
b. Solomon Schechter Day Schools (Conservative)	3,489	6,042	+73.2	7,965	+31.8	+128.3
c. Reform Jewish				373	+	
7. National Association of Independent Schools	199,329	221,216	+11.0	277,406	+2.8	+14.1
8. Episcopal Schools						
a. Parish Day Schools[e]	4,893[a]	4,559[f]	-6.8	5,536	+21.4	+13.1
b. NonParish Schools[e]	55,060[a]	61,186[f]	+11.1	71,020	+16.1	+29.0
9. Friends (Quaker) Schools	10,878	13,706	+26.0	13,801	+0.1	+16.6
10. Military			-	13,000	-	-
11. Greek Orthodox		4,468	+	5,009	+12.1	+
12. Mennonite Schools	13,256	7,368	-44.4	8,079	+9.6	-39.1
13. Nonpublic Alternative (Free) Schools		13,142	+	23,498	+78.9	+

[a] 1966-67.

[b] Founded after 1970.

[c] Data derived from school enrollments reported in the 1975 membership listing. Included student enrollments in regular and affiliate member schools. Number of students in schools holding regular memberships: 49,324.

[d] 1974-75.

[e] Includes enrollments (including preschool enrollments) in schools offering some post-kindergarten education.

[f] 1969-70.

SOURCE: The source of data for each group is identified under the following section, "Group Trends."

(The 1975-76 projection of another 1971 analysis turned out to be precisely on target.)[16] To some extent, the general pessimism may have been a self-fulfilling prophecy, a "crisis of confidence" that helped produce attrition.

During the ten-year period in question (1965-66 to 1975-76), the rate of decline was approximately twice as great in elementary as in secondary Catholic schools, no doubt partly because a high proportion of the elementary schools have always been operated on a parish-by-parish basis, plagued by vagaries of single-parish finance, in- and out- migration, etc., whereas the vast majority of Catholic secondary schools are operated by dioceses or religious orders, which can absorb many parish-wide shocks, and which tend to recruit their students within much wider geographic ambits.[17] Catholic scholars have criticized the parish-based system as being inefficient, unstable, and inequitable. It often imposes more severe fiscal burdens on poor families than on wealthy families, yet virtually eliminates the possibility of national or diocesan fiscal equalization.[18] The Notre Dame study concluded the Catholic school enrollment decline was not basically attributable, in the Catholic elementary schools in the period up to 1970, at least, to either the dropping birth rate or, probably, to tuition increases. Using infant baptisms as an indicator, the study showed that the proportion of available Catholic children enrolling in Catholic schools was diminishing significantly.[19] In one important sense the over-all national figures were misleading, however, for while the above-mentioned measure indicated an erosion of loyalty to the Catholic schools in the <u>suburbs</u>, at least when the St. Louis metropolitan area was examined, Catholics in the <u>city</u> were maintaining, or even augmenting, their loyalty.[20] The authors speculated that this differential attachment to the Catholic school was a function of the fact that, while public schools in the suburbs were reputed to be rather good,

the city public schools were such bad repute that many people were seeking an alternative. Little attention was paid to a rival explanation: when Catholics moved from city to suburb, often Catholic schools were no longer readily available to them. One can hardly patronize, and thus demonstrate loyalty to, nonexistent schools.

In Erickson's 1970 study for an Illinois legislative commission, an examination of national data showed a tendency for the rate of attrition from Catholic to public schools to be increasing from year to year at two critical points: between grades 2 and 3 (after a child had received first communion), and between grades 6 and 7 (at the point where many children entered the junior high school.)[21] This increasing attrition could not, of course, be attributed to the birth rate decline. When data for the Chicago Archdiocese, the city of Chicago Heights, and north suburban Cook County were examined, it became obvious, as in evidence from the Notre Dame study discussed earlier, that the proportion of available Catholic children (as estimated from number of baptisms or first communicants) attending Catholic schools was falling year by year.[22] Here, again, were losses not produced by a birth rate decline. It was also clear, however, that these losses were in addition to the effects of declining births.[23] As Fuerst observes, the birth rate decline has not yet fully worked its effects up to the high school level, though it may have had some impact by prompting elementary school closures, and thus cutting off a major source of input to Catholic secondary schools.[24]

As for rising tuition costs, the Notre Dame report cites investigations in St. Louis, Atlanta, New York state, and the Archdiocese of New York, in which no statistical relationship between tuition and elementary school enrollment fluctuations could be found, though shortcomings in the analysis prevent it from being viewed as conclusive.[25] A well informed student of

Catholic secondary schools insists that tuition charges are an important influence on enrollment at that level.[26] The two contentions are not necessarily contradictory, for most Catholic elementary schools, subsidized very heavily by the parish, charge rather minimal tuitions, while Catholic secondary schools tend to rely on tuitions for a large proportion of their revenues.[27] It also seems likely that even minimal tuition increases will prove prohibitive for some groups -- e.g., impoverished black families seeking the services of inner-city Catholic schools left with empty desks by the flight of white Catholics to the suburbs. There is support for this possibility in the study by Greeley, McCready, and McCourt.[28]

In Erickson's 1970 study, the likely causes of the enrollment decline in Catholic schools were summarized by Thaddeus O'Brien as follows:

> 1) The declining birth rate, which has caused a sharp downward trend in the number of six-year-old youngsters available for entry into nonpublic (and nonpublic) schools.
>
> 2) Migration of families of nonpublic school students from central city locations where Catholic schools . . . tend to be concentrated to suburban areas where fewer Catholic schools exist.
>
> 3) A decreasing proportion of six-year-old children entering religiously affiliated nonpublic schools as a result of changing parental preferences and rising costs. This is particularly true in certain suburban communities, where the quality of the local public school is excellent and local taxes are collected almost exclusively for education.
>
> 4) Administrative decisions of nonpublic school officials (a) to close certain schools, (b) not to build new schools with the construction of new parishes, and (c) to control class size.
>
> 5) Increased tuition costs.[29]

Both the Notre Dame study and a Boston investigation by Donovan and Madaus emphasized that loyalty to the Catholic school was strongest among the less affluent, poorly educated, older, more traditional Catholics, than among the more affluent, better educated, more forward-looking adherents to

the faith.[30] The implication seemed to be that as Catholics moved up the socio-economic ladder, Catholic schools would lose out increasingly. As a major component of this line of reasoning, it was argued that as forward-looking, upwardly mobile Catholics were reassured by their new status in society and simultaneously affected by the modified doctrinal outlook symbolized and catalyzed by the Second Vatican Council, they would see less need for the "seige-oriented" Catholic schools and would turn increasingly to other methods for the religious education of their children.[31]

In the light of the recent work of Greeley, McCready, and McCourt, it appears that earlier analyses paid insufficient attention to the fact that the effects of the above-mentioned variables (income, education, ideology, age) could easily be confounded with the effects of geographic location, since the wealthier, better educated, less traditional, younger Catholics were concentrating more and more in the suburbs where, as a matter of deliberate policy, the Catholic bishops were refusing to build new schools, largely because they believed there was little demand among Catholics for these schools.[32] Greeley, McCready, and McCourt have produced evidence suggesting that a major factor in recent Catholic school enrollment declines is the unavailability of schools, not lack of interest among suburbanized Catholics.[33] It is also possible that the earlier analyses were basically correct, but that the deteriorating image of public education in recent years, both in cities and suburbs, has made Catholic schools more attractive than they were even five or six years ago.[34] At any rate, Greeley, McCready, and McCourt indicate that much potential money for Catholic schools is now in the hands of Catholics who have no schools to support.[35] Properly capitalized upon, this money (estimated at $1.8 billion!), and the loyalty it represents, could form the basis for dramatic new growth in the Catholic educational sector.

Just as one cannot pinpoint with certainty the most important factors behind the Catholic school crisis, no one knows why relative stability has been restored, though numerous elements may have contributed to the improvement. We have already mentioned one -- the deteriorating image of many public schools. Another is the effort of Catholic leaders to adapt to changing conditions. These adaptations are worth investigating in their own right, even if we cannot be sure they helped mitigate the problems of the Catholic schools.

During the crisis of the late sixties and early seventies, Catholic schools collaborated with public schools in many arrangements designed to provide programs and services of attractive breadth and quality while minimizing costs. Much of what follows is drawn from twenty-four case studies prepared for the President's Commission on School Finance during 1970 and 1971.[36] Since the case studies do not represent a probabilistic sample, they cannot be used to estimate the prevalence of any of the arrangements delineated. The examples were selected with another purpose in view: to provide detail concerning the dynamics and apparent consequences of the best-known approaches to collaboration between Catholic and public schools throughout the nation.

Information gathered as a basis for selecting the sites to be examined suggested, however, that most of the approaches were rather widespread. In fact, some of them had been in common use for some time.[37]

Cooperative arrangements known as "dual enrollment" or "shared time" are perhaps the best known of those exemplified in the twenty-four case studies. At the heart of this approach is the concept that students have the right to attend public schools, not merely on an all-or-nothing basis, but selectively; and they should be free to engage in some activities in

public schools while pursuing others in nonpublic schools. The most common approach is for Catholic students to journey to a nearby public school for courses that are relatively "value-free", yet expensive to offer because they involve elaborate facilities, costly equipment and supplies, or (because of a dearth of interested students) very small classes. Dual enrollment quite obviously is helpful to fiscally pressed Catholic schools, but according to all the evidence available, it rarely, if ever, makes a life-and-death difference. It entails major problems, as well. While it may provide students with more elaborate programs without increasing costs, it tends to divide their loyalties between two schools, creates scheduling and transportation complications and, apparently, dilutes the impact of the Catholic school.

Somewhat akin to shared time is the practice of sharing facilities and services. We know it has been fairly common (though we cannot cite precise figures on prevalence) for Catholic school students to use public school gymnasiums, playgrounds, auditoriums, or laboratories; and to benefit from the ministrations of public school nurses, guidance counselors, remedial reading teachers, speech therapists, and other specialists. This type of cooperation has often been done informally, without benefit of laws requiring or funding it, but much has been stimulated and financed by various state statutes and, especially in impoverished areas, under Title I of the federal *Elementary and Secondary Education Act*. Ironically, when the services are provided only on public school premises, they are often rendered practically inaccessible (because of transportation and scheduling problems) to the Catholic school students who need them the most; but when Catholic school premises are used for services that are "curricular" in nature (e.g., remedial reading, guidance) rather than a matter of "general welfare" (e.g., health

services, busing), serious constitutional issues are now raised under the U. S. Supreme Court's "excessive entanglement" doctrine.[38]

The collaborative approach which, in some forms, is perhaps most subject to constitutional attack, involves the exchange of services or facilities between public and Catholic schools by means of various *leasing* contracts. There have been instances, for example, in which Catholic school students, segregated into classes of their own, have been given instruction in classrooms (within Catholic schools) that are officially designated as "public" by being leased from the Catholic school by the public school; and the instruction has been provided by Catholic school teachers who are put on the public school payroll, officially supervised by public school administrators, and thus designated as "public school teachers" insofar as these particular programs are concerned.

Constitutional issues aside, the cooperative arrangements described above typically seem mutually beneficial to the Catholic and public systems, for Catholic school students receive services, supported by their parents' taxes, that might otherwise be denied, the public schools are more enthusiastically supported by Catholic voters, and sometimes public school students obtain special services that only the Catholic schools provide. Quite obviously, the public and private sectors in education both possess unique capabilities to contribute to the education of the young, and each has ample potential to assist or harrass the other. Collaborative approaches not yet attempted anywhere are possible, though current constitutional rulings would dictate that they be limited to nonsectarian schools.[39]

As one might anticipate in a time of crisis, Catholic schools have developed new ways of cooperating, not merely with public schools, but with each other, especially to achieve economies of scale in purchasing, curriculum

development, and the use of expensive facilities, equipment, and personnel. Twenty-three percent of the Catholic schools responding in a recent study by Olsen reported involvement in some type of inter-school collaboration.[40] Olsen documented fifty-one mergers, nine consortia, sixty-seven instances of shared programs, and twelve other types of sharing. No systematic national figures seem available. The topic is well worth further study.

It was predictable that Catholic leaders, representing the largest non-public school group by far, would play a prominent role in the thwarted effort, especially over the past eight years or so, to secure sizable direct or indirect assistance from the public purse.

As another common response to the crisis, sometimes planned and sometimes probably inadvertent, many Catholic schools, especially in the inner city, have experienced a rather dramatic change in the character of their student bodies, from predominantly Catholic to predominant non-Catholic in many cases, and often from predominantly white to predominantly black. These student-body changes are to some extent discernible in the national data for Catholic schools.[41] By 1970-71, 11.8 percent of Catholic school students were black, Spanish-surnamed, Oriental American, or American Indian, whereas the figure was estimated at 13.6 (14.3 in the elementary schools) by 1972-73, a remarkable development in schools that must pay their own way, since most of these populations are impoverished and since the 1970 census showed that only 12.5 percent of the national population was composed of people with these backgrounds. The figures also make clear, however, that these minority groups are predominantly in Catholic schools in the inner city.

These changes, in turn, have made experimentation with new methods and materials almost inevitable. The authors of this report are personally acquainted with once-traditional inner-city Catholic schools that have become

exceptionally exciting centers of creative effort in recent years, though there is apparently no systematic national evidence on this important phenomenon. Extensive involvement of Catholic schools in urban problems, often because of considerable diocesan subsidies and contributed services from religious orders, is further documented by data showing the existence of 1,401 inner-city Catholic schools, serving 483,000 students, in 1973-74.[42] In Chicago, at least, it was shown in 1971 that these students were not "creamed off" in terms of their superior abilities as reflected in IQ tests; in fact, when Catholic and public schools in the same neighborhoods were compared, the city-wide average IQ scores for Catholic schools were slightly *lower* than those for public schools.[43] There was also evidence that the Catholic schools in the city were making their best resources available disproportionately to the poor and the black, while the public schools were doing so for the well-to-do and the white.[44] Somewhat similarly, a statewide study in Michigan found more evidence of equality of opportunity across student SES levels in nonpublic (primarily Catholic) schools than in public schools.[45]

It is well known that Catholic school leaders have devoted considerable efforts in recent years to phasing out marginal inefficient schools in ways that would deny a Catholic education to as few students as possible, have instituted more efficient management systems (e.g., striking improvements in fiscal accounting in many schools), have marshalled the interest and assistance of capable Catholic laymen as never before, and have worked hard to convince potential patrons that, while some of the old characteristics of Catholic education have faded, these institutions still have unique advantages to offer. Rather than lamenting the woes of a system in crisis, these leaders now accentuate the special strengths of their schools.

As one manifestation of the relative optimism now prevailing, the National Catholic Education Association has predicted a rather minor enrollment decline during the period from 1975-76 to 1980-81, of 7 percent (slightly more than 1 percent per year) at the secondary level and 14 percent (less than 3 percent per year) at the elementary level. NCEA thus projects that Catholic secondary schools will continue to be responsible for about 829,000 students, and the Catholic elementary schools, for about 2,168,000. These are hardly the dimensions of a moribund enterprise. And the possibility highlighted by Greeley, McCready, and McCourt remains: The Catholic school enterprise may find a way of tapping the considerable reservoir of money and interest that seems available.

LUTHERAN SCHOOLS

The Schools of the Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod

The past ten years have also witnessed enrollment declines, though relatively minor, in the Lutheran schools, as a total group second in magnitude only to the Catholic schools within the nonpublic sector. The three Lutheran school groups considered in the present study (Missouri Synod, Wisconsin Synod, and American Lutheran) enroll a total of about 212,908 students (see Table 1), nearly five percent of the national nonpublic total. At one time, numerous church-affiliated schools were maintained by many branches of Lutheranism in the United States. Historically, the Lutheran groups that closed most or all of their schools did so when conservative religious doctrines were being abandoned, ethnic distinctives were weakening notably, or both.[46] There is little of significant ethnic nature (e.g., use of languages other than English) to distinguish the two largest remaining groups of Lutheran schools--those operated by the Missouri and Wisconsin synods, res-

pectively--but both groups do reflect the most conservative doctrinal positions in American Lutheranism today, and of these two, the one experiencing some enrollment declines (the Missouri Synod group) has been rent by strident battles over growing liberalism. (It is perhaps significant in this regard that one of the other large groups of church-affiliated schools in the United States--Seventh Day Adventist--also reflects a very conservative doctrinal stance.) There is reason to suspect that, even today, a major factor influencing church-school loyalties is the religious conservatism of the constituency.

The schools of the Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod, whose headquarters are in St. Louis, Missouri, have in the past been predominantly Midwestern, rural, and small.[47] The general enrollment pattern in the Missouri Synod elementary schools (which now number 1,227) has been a fairly notable decline between 1966-67 and 1971-72, followed by a one-year growth spurt (beginning with that year preschool enrollments were added to the total) followed by several years of "steady state", though the number of schools has continued to decline lately because of mergers effectuated in the interests of fiscal efficiency.[48] (During the same period, enrollments in the high schools have increased, and ten new high schools have been founded.) Lutheran leaders emphasize that the comparative stability of the schools is the more notable in the light of drastically declining Sunday-school memberships. (One is reminded in this regard of the contention by Greeley, McCready, and McCourt that Catholics are exhibiting a stronger attachment to their church-related schools than to the church itself, and of the contention by other writers that the public school, too, has taken on itself certain characteristics once exhibited by churches).[49] To what extent, if any, are current public and nonpublic schools the nation's churches in disguised form?

Missouri Synod spokesmen estimate that 39 percent of children from Synod-affiliated families attend the Synod's schools. Around 10 percent of the total elementary school enrollment reportedly is drawn from such minority groups as blacks, Chicanos, and American Indians. There has been a shift of emphasis, we are told, from "Missouri Synod schools for Lutherans" to the concept of Lutheran schools to share Christianity, though Synod leaders insist that "outreach" has always been a goal of the group. Perhaps the shift represents a response to the reduced pool of prospective students from the old sources. Nearly one-fourth of the children in the synod elementary schools come from families which are members of non-Lutheran church congregations. Another seven percent report no church affiliation.

In recent decades the Missouri Synod schools have urbanized considerably, and of late have experienced rather rapid growth in the South (particularly Florida) and California--areas in which, as later data will show, numerous other groups of nonpublic schools have been growing rapidly as well. Synod leaders attribute much expansion in these areas to disenchantment with public schools. Schools that use racial criteria in admissions are not permitted to affiliate with the Synod, though there is no way, leaders acknowledge, of ensuring that parents do not patronize Lutheran schools primarily to avoid racial integration and related developments in public schools. Since many allegedly racist schools in the South are labelled "Christian schools", Missouri Synod schools in that region are advised not to use that name to describe themselves.

The Missouri Synod's educational leaders seem generally optimistic at present, partly because dissatisfaction with public education is so extensive, partly because the Lutheran pre-school movement (which feeds into Lutheran elementary schools) is now so strong (over one-fourth of the Lutheran elemen-

tary schools now offer pre-school programs), and partly because of the apparent success of new efforts to publicize the advantages of Lutheran schooling. The cooperative arrangements with public schools described earlier, never as widespread among Lutheran as among Catholic schools, have been virtually abandoned, partly because of the dual-allegiance problems they created among students. Extensive efforts are being made to publicize Lutheran education, by means of conventional advertising outlets, through faculty visits to homes, and via television programs on such themes as the American Revolution, which are made available free to television outlets (viewers are encouraged to write in for a gift, and in response are contacted about Lutheran education).

Synod teachers (numbering 7,294) are now assisted by 3,765 aides, over 80 percent of whom work without remuneration.[50] Tuition charges, once very uncommon, are now used to raise something like 25 percent of elementary school incomes, though members of supporting congregations pay less than other patrons. In the high schools, between 50 and 70 percent of costs are tuition-generated. Increasingly, systematic efforts are being made to secure "third source" money (from foundations, legacies, industry, etc.).

As one dark cloud on the horizon, some observers within the Missouri Synod think current doctrinal conflicts may soon be reflected in the withholding of donations to local parishes, which in turn will be hard pressed to maintain their support of parish schools. Some Synod leaders anticipate the harm will not be as drastic as predicted, noting the deep-seated attachment of Missouri Synod Lutherans to their schools.

The Schools of the Wisconsin Evangelical Lutheran Synod

The schools affiliated with the most doctrinally conservative segment of American Lutheranism (the Wisconsin Evangelical Lutheran Synod), have enjoyed

modest but virtually uninterrupted growth for the past quarter-century. During the fifteen years from 1960 to 1975, for instance, elementary school enrollments within the Synod climbed from 24,082 to 27,506.[51] Like most Missouri Synod Lutheran schools in the past, the Wisconsin Synod schools tend to be small, very traditional in approach (strict discipline, a no-nonsense approach to the "essentials"), and located in rural or semi-rural areas.[52] Within the last five years, fifty congregations have opened new schools, and ten were planned for the fall of 1976. Much recent growth as in other groups of nonpublic schools, was in the West and Florida. Virtually all recent school closings were a response to shrinking populations in rural areas. Synod leaders insist that there is no sign, in contrast to other religious groups, of doubt among church members as a whole concerning the value of these schools. In congregations with day schools, approximately 66 percent of the children from member families attend. Financial support is provided directly from the affiliated churches, rather than through tuition. Like several other particularly conservative branches of Protestantism, the synod itself has been experiencing a rather rapid growth in membership, thus increasing the pool of prospective students for its schools.

Wisconsin Synod leaders justify their schools partly in terms of alleged public school shortcomings (e.g., "unscriptural teachings", permissiveness, emphasis on materialism), but more fundamentally as a way of providing an education thoroughly permeated with theistic premises. Each day begins with religious instruction. Attempts are made to relate all subjects to the Bible. Moral absolutes are strongly emphasized. When a child is disciplined, an effort is made to spell out specifically the commandment that has been violated.

Virtually the only Wisconsin Synod schools whose student bodies have

changed in character are the few located in inner-city parishes. As white Lutherans moved away from these parishes, blacks (often non-Lutherans) filled the empty desks. Not all comers were accepted, however. Non-Lutheran patrons were expected to support the school's philosophy and practices, and generally were required to attend informational sessions in which the pastor explained the position of the church and its school.

Among the possible factors explaining the steady growth of this group of schools is the expansion of the synod itself, the policy of avoiding tuition charges (at least to members of supporting churches), a firmly conservative doctrinal stance which, in effect, imposes an essential "safeguarding" role on the schools, and the extensive contributed services of underpaid teachers and administrators. Just as one is "called" to be a Lutheran minister, one is called to "the teaching ministry" in a Wisconsin Synod school, and is expected to exhibit an appropriate degree of dedication. Salaries are low, though supplemented by allowances for hospitalization, housing, and telephone, and compensated for by the special status that "ministers" enjoy. Some teachers, for example, may earn less than $9,000 per annum after twenty years of service.

The Schools of the American Lutheran Church

According to figures provided by the Director of Elementary Schools of the American Lutheran Church, this group of schools has grown at about five percent per year since 1973.[53] Prior to 1973 erratic gains and losses were reported.[54] (These dramatic fluctuations are partly a function of the fact that total enrollment, ranging currently around 16,000, can be significantly affected by the opening or closing of just a few schools and partly a function of rather casual data-gathering procedures.) This collection of schools is only a pale shadow of a system that disappeared shortly after the schools,

in reaction to violent anti-German sentiment (especially during and after World War I), abandoned German as the language of instruction, thus losing one of their most visible distinguishing features.[55] While the American Lutheran Church as a national entity still seems disinterested in church-related schools, reportedly a growing number of parishes are recognizing that they can open new avenues of ministry and revitalize existing church programs by opening a school. At the present time, it is reported that "many" church-operated pre-schools have been established. (These will bear watching, since many church groups with considerable collections of day schools began by establishing kindergartens and/or pre-schools and adding one new grade each year. For example, the Episcopal school movement has including a large pre-school and kindergarten component for many years.

The areas in which schools of the American Lutheran Church have been expanding are primarily Florida, California, New York City, and Baltimore. The primary reason for expansion, according to school leaders, is growing dissatisfaction with the academic and moral characteristics of the public school in these areas. Considering the nation as a whole, leaders in this group predict a steady, modest net growth.

SEVENTH DAY ADVENTIST SCHOOLS

Paralleling the national growth of the church, Seventh Day Adventist education has grown robustly. In terms of total enrollment, elementary and secondary combined, the Adventists form the third largest group, behind the Lutherans and Roman Catholics (see Table 3). Considering secondary schools alone, the Adventists are second in enrollment (23,132) to the Catholics.

In 1964-65, there were 956 Adventist schools, both boarding and day, elementary and secondary, in the United States. In 1965-66, the number

dropped by five; in 1969-70, there were only 951 schools. The recovery through the 1970's brought the schools back to 957, one more than in 1964-65 (Table 3).

The most interesting patterns relate to enrollment in the Seventh Day Adventist schools, though we suspect that the rather sizable fluctuations from year to year are partially attributable to imprecise reporting procedures. According to Table 3, there was no notable increase in the number of schools between 1964-65 and 1974-75, but total enrollment increased by 25,375 students, or 50.4 percent of the 1964-65 figure. The increase has been predominantly at the secondary level (in the church's "academies"). The ten-year increase at this level was 672.9 percent!

General Conference leaders (in Washington, D.C.) report that the growth in school enrollment is basically attributable to growth in the church itself, which has been so rapid that the schools cannot keep up with the demand. The demand, in turn, is related to the strong emphasis of the church on parental responsibilities in education. Further work should be done to determine why the Adventists are apparently shifting their emphasis from the elementary to the secondary grades.

Table 3. Enrollment and number of U.S. Seventh Day Adventist schools (1964-65 to 1974-75)

DATE	1964-65	1965-66	1969-70	1970-71	1973-74	1974-75
Number of Schools	956	951	850	868	921	957
Enrollment						
K-	47,354	47,532	--	--	--	52,590
[illegible]-12	2,993	2,933	--	20,520	--	23,132
TOTAL	50,347	50,465	--	20,520	--	75,722

SOURCE: World Report: Department of Education (General Conference of Seventh Day Adventists, North American Division).

CALVINIST SCHOOLS

The Calvinist schools affiliated with the National Union of Christian Schools (NUCS) have suffered enrollment declines and fiscal difficulties during the past decade.[56] Most of these schools are associated with Christian Reformed churches, though they are operated by independent "parent societies" rather than by the churches themselves (because of the doctrine that education is primarily a parental, rather than a church, responsibility). Approximately 70 percent of the constituents of NUCS schools are members of Christian Reformed congregations. In popular parlance, the schools in this group are generally known simply as "Christian schools", though a great many schools associated with other Christian churches refuse to affiliate because of NUCS's stringently Calvinistic statement of faith. NUCS schools, reasonably enough, are found mainly where the Christian Reformed Church is strong, as in Michigan, metropolitan Chicago, and California. Despite the legal autonomy of the individual schools, the rather extensive services of NUCS and the common religious traditions of the schools tend to produce a noticeable homegeneity of practice throughout this group. The annual cost of elementary education in association schools reportedly averages $800.00 per child, and the average annual cost of high school education, roughly $900.00 per child.

The NUCS schools experienced enrollment declines in 1967-68 after a long period of steady growth. Enrollments dropped again in 1969, 1971, and each year since 1973.[57] The most likely explanation, according to school spokesmen, is a general decline in birth rates among Christian Reformed families and an easing of normative expectations that Christian Reformed parents will put their children in church schools. Over the last decade, many young church parents have moved from urban areas where Reformed parents

predominated to suburbs where they did not. As a result, suburban Reformed parents do not confront the concerted pressures to use association schools that parents in the cities encounter.

Responding to enrollment declines, association schools have attempted, rather successfully, to draw from a wider constituency. Within association schools there appears now to be greater stress put upon "acknowledging the Lordship of Christ" in all areas of life--a concept acceptable to a wide range of Christian groups. According to NUCS officials, schools draw parents for two major reasons: (a) a desire for schools that promote the values emphasized at home, and (2) an emphatic dissatisfaction with the academic and moral aspects of public education. NUCS leaders report that association members seem to be abandoning their traditional reluctance to voice criticism of public schools.

In the face of the spiraling costs of recent years, some NUCS schools have merged, and some have formed confederations, in search of economies of scale. The Grand Rapids Christian Schools Association, for instance, was formed to provide a number of benefits without sacrificing the advantages of small school size and school-level decision making. The association conducts public relations and fund raising activities in behalf of all its schools and provides special services (e.g., instruction in art, music, and physical education; busing) that few of the schools could afford individually.

Despite these measures, we are informed that NUCS schools continue to experience financial difficulties. Because of rising costs and declining Christian Reformed birth rates, some church leaders express doubts about the long-term future of the NUCS schools. But as a spokesman observed, similar pessimism has been voiced for sixty years, yet over the long haul the schools not only survived but expanded.[58] He predicts a slow but steady growth in

NUCS membership over the coming five years, partly as a consequence of the formation of new schools now planned, and partly because more existing schools should find attractive the services that NUCS provides.

EVANGELICAL SCHOOLS

In contrast to the Calvinist schools of the National Union of Christian Schools (NUCS), discussed above, another group of conservative or fundamentalist Protestant schools are associated mainly with churches that trace their origins back to John Calvin's mortal enemy, Arminius, who taught that salvation was something to be obtained through good works and faith, rather than as a matter of divine election. It would be reasonably accurate, then, to label these schools *Arminian*; but since both the schools and the churches with which they are associated much more often identify themselves as "evangelical", the latter appellation will be adopted, for present purposes, to distinguish them from the stringently Calvinist, NUCS-affiliated group.

Unlike the Calvinist schools, the evangelicals exhibit fairly pronounced free-lance tendencies, often refusing to affiliate themselves with any regional or national group. Often, furthermore, the evangelical schools are established in connection with individual churches (Baptist, Nazarene, Free Methodist, etc.) whose denominations are not in favor of church-related schools as a matter of national policy, and apparently do their best to ignore the ones that exist. Consequently, comprehensive figures on this group of schools can be obtained neither from school associations nor from denominational headquarters. However, by examining trends reported by a number of relevant organizations, one can obtain a fair idea of major trends.

The National Association of Christian Schools (NACS, often confused with NUCS, discussed above) was formed in 1947 as a subsidiary of the National

Association of Evangelicals, avowedly in an effort to provide NUCS-type services to schools that could not subscribe to the NUCS Calvinistic statement of faith.[59] Between 1965-66 and 1972-73, NACS reports an increase of 17.5 percent in the number of member schools (the number grew from 228 to 268), while total enrollment increased by a remarkable 66.1 percent (from 32,003 to 53,144).[60] But there are indications that the popularity of NACS was increasing among evangelical schools during these years, so the increase represents not only real expansion but also an increasing tendency to affiliate. NACS figures after 1972-73 show a precipitous loss of both schools and enrollment, but this is particularly misleading, since schools were defecting from NACS en masse because of dissatisfaction concerning an abortive effort to disassociate the organization from the National Association of Evangelicals (NAE) in reaction to NAE's negative stance toward church-related schools. NACS leaders insist that the evangelical school movement was continuing to burgeon during this period.

During the next few years, several new agencies appeared to service the evangelical schools, and some that were already on the scene began to flourish, no longer facing serious competition from NACS. Total enrollment in schools affiliated with the Western Association of Christian Schools leaped every year, growing from 11,388 in 1965-66 to 63,131 in 1975-76.[61] The National Christian School Education Association, founded in 1973, served 175 schools enrolling 38,175 children in 1975-76.[62] One evangelical denomination that does actively encourage its churches to maintain schools, the Assemblies of God, reports a total enrollment of 1,110 in 1965 and of 21,921 in 1976.[63] The American Association of Christian Schools reported a membership of eighty schools in 1972 and 445 schools in 1976.[64] Accelerated Christian Education, which produces semi-programmed curriculum materials for

this movement, was serving only five schools in the fall of 1971, but now reports that 1,400 schools use its materials.[65] One leader who has been active in fostering evangelical schools for many years estimates that schools of this type are now being established in the United States at the rate of one per day.

When asked why this expansion is occurring, spokesmen for the evangelical schools cite two reasons predominantly: the desire of many parents for a "Bible-centered" education, and the spreading conviction among parents that public schools are deteriorating both academically and morally. These leaders assert that public education, traditionally embodying vital Protestant viewpoints, is now destructive of the values it once fostered. Another factor in the recent expansion of evangelical day schools may be the availability of the Accelerated Christian Education (ACE) materials. Though not of a caliber to compete with the sophisticated output of a federally funded R and D center or regional educational laboratory, the ACE system seems well designed to help make a struggling new school, operating on a shoe-string and handicapped by lack of know-how, as teacher-proof as possible. Followed consistently, the system itself will do much to ensure that students master the basic essentials.

Tuition charges in the evangelical schools apparently range roughly between $500 and $800 per pupil per year, typically with reductions for families with more than one child enrolled. Systematic fund-raising is being emphasized more and more--deferred giving plans, campaigns to have the schools included in wills, etc. Elderly persons are often encouraged to donate their services as tutors, office workers, and maintenance personnel. In many cases, these schools began as pre-schools and nurseries, initiated by churches to raise money and make contacts with potential church members. Frequently,

one grade was added each year until a complete elementary school had been developed.

PROTEST SCHOOLS

Categories for "segregation academies" or "protest schools" do not appear in our two "national overview" tables (Tables 1 and 2, presented earlier), since the schools we are about to discuss are affiliated with so many groups already represented in the tables that the addition of enrollment figures for this particular "segregationist" or "protest" group would, judging by the available information, do more to distort than to clarify the over-all picture for nonpublic schools.

For reasons that should become evident later, we think the term "segregationist academies" conjures up a grossly oversimplified picture. We have chosen the label "protest schools", to us a more accurate and less harshly, misleadingly pejorative term. Our objective, after all, is description and understanding, not moral judgment.

In a study done in Louisiana for the President's Commission on School Finance during 1971, one of us discovered that local public school superintendents were exceedingly cooperative in helping "track down" the protest schools in their districts.[66] Even so, the data-gathering task was arduous, expensive, and time-consuming. An approach of this type, even on a regional basis, was far beyond the limitations of the present study. We promised, however, to obtain whatever information we could, and in that respect were most fortunate to become acquainted with the Lamar Society, a group of progressive southerners which was completing a two-year study, financed by the Ford Foundation, of the "segregationist academies" or "protest schools" in the South. While our own work was proceeding, the Lamar Society courteously

provided us with information, and at the time of this writing, the published report of that landmark investigation is at hand (The Schools That Fear Built, authored by David Nevin and Robert E. Bills).[67] The Nevin-Bills report obviously contains the most reliable, comprehensive information we have been able to find on the topic. We rely on it almost exclusively for the information discussed in this section.

One shortcoming of the Nevin-Bills report is that, while the protest school phenomenon is national, the evidence is drawn exclusively from the South. However, one suspects the central findings could be replicated elsewhere. Nevin and Bills picture the protest movement as "brewing" ever since the early 1960's, in the aftermath of the Brown decision, but as surging forward rapidly in 1970 and 1971, when it became evident that racial desegregation in the public schools of the South was inevitable. But though each major growth spurt in the protest schools coincided with local public school desegregation developments, Nevin and Bills point out repeatedly that something more basic and pervasive than "pure racism" is involved. They argue, essentially, that the protest schools are far more than a reaction against the mixing of the races. Desegregation was a "last straw", among many other straws. The patrons of these schools represent a fundamental, far-reaching disagreement vis-a-vis those who seek to move society into the future along essentially "liberal" lines. The protest school patrons

> link into one disconcerting, unsavory whole the things they find disturbing--the end of the old-fashioned patriotism, the new view of America's role in the world, the changing attitude toward authority and leaders, shrinking church attendance, rising divorce rates, acceptance of pre-marital sex, dirty movies, public nudity, foul language, the loosening of constraint and custom, abortion, crime, drugs, erosion of the work ethic, textbooks that question old values and old heroes and the countless other manifestations of a new view of themselves that many Americans now are entertaining.... The list becomes as a litany of dismay; they believe they see a disintegrating society.[68]

Nevin and Bills depict these alienated people as finding in their schools a haven from a deteriorating world; a place where their children are taught the essential understandings and skills in a disciplined, no-nonsense atmosphere; a shelter from drugs, sexual promiscuity, violence, and anti-Christian teachings. They view public schools, in contrast, as "horrid and dangerous places", unresponsive to the values and aspirations of parents.[69] Though often jerry-built and operating on the edge of insolvency, the protest schools arouse in these parents profound loyalty and enthusiasm. These are <u>their</u> schools, like the public schools they remember from their youth, reinforcing the moral posture of the home. When administering questionnaires in a sample of these schools, Bills finds that the parents <u>and</u> students are happier about their schools than are the public school populations he has sampled on other occasions. The Protest schools <u>are</u> tranquil and surprisingly free from anxiety. Few discipline problems arise, and despite a "tight ship" approach, the students like their teachers more than public school students have indicated that they do in Bills' other studies. Though working for salaries vastly lower than public school salaries, the teachers appear unusually content and dedicated, more open to experience than public school teachers studied by Bills. In examining their affective characteristics, Bills voices the serious possibility that the students would be worse off, rather than better, if they were members of a minority in heterogeneous public schools. The authors go so far as to assert on several occasions that the public schools may have something to learn from the protest schools.

The marked homogeneity of the protest school constituency, drawn though this constituency may be from a wide geographic area, is mentioned again and again by the authors. One wonders, indeed, why Nevin and Bills do not

make more of the possibility, highlighted by implication at many points in their work, that the homogeneity of patrons, students, and personnel is a major advantage in some respects, producing a mutually supportive relationship between home and school, a greater readiness to learn on the part of students, and a more optimistic, industrious stance by teachers. The major secret to the financial stability of the protest schools, the authors state, is that they charge tuitions averaging around half of the per-pupil expenditure level in nearby public schools, and, by cutting costs in many ways, manage to operate largely on the basis of these tuitions. They are assisted in this regard by the current surplus of teachers, the frustration of many teachers with conditions found in public schools, several "do-it-yourself" curricular systems now on the market, much volunteer labor, some church support, and a widespread aversion among many patrons to the "innovations", "fads", and "frills" on which much public school money is spent. The resultant bare-bones education, characterized by much rote learning of the "essentials" (disparaged by Nevin and Bills), is nevertheless what the parents and students seem to want, and produces the relatively high achievement test scores that they value as evidence of a successful schooling.

While Nevin and Bills depict the protest academies as remarkably similar institutions in most respects, apparently their sponsorship tends to differ from city to countryside. Many of the earlier, rural protest schools were nominally nonsectarian, run by community groups which, because of the cohesion of rural communities, were readily created for that purpose. In the cities, where cohesive organizations were more difficult to build, the tendency was to develop protest schools under the protective arm of existing fundamentalist churches. The churches were generally stable institutions, often led by charismatic, persuasive pastors. Often existing, Sunday school facilities

could be converted rather readily to day school use. Churches provided financial arrangements, including tax-exempt status and good standing with banks, that made feasible the raising of capital funds. The familiar church was something distressed parents could trust. Nevin and Bills describe several elaborate, well supported schools that have been erected on this ecclesiastical basis. Most are far more modest, and some are ramshackle, but the movement seems "likely to be a permanent part of the educational picture in the South".[70]

If we accept Nevin and Bills' estimate of 750,000 students in schools of the type described in their book; if most of these schools are affiliated with one or another of the groups included in Table 1 (our "national overview" table), and if our estimate of approximately 4,501,836 as the total enrollment in the nation's nonpublic schools in 1975-76 is not far off, then the protest schools in the South obviously account for approximately 16.7 percent of that total nonpublic school enrollment. If enrollment in protest schools outside the South were included, it seems plausible that the figure would rise to 20 percent or more. This is a substantial segment of the nation's nonpublic school enterprise, and according to Nevin and Bills, it is still growing.

Nevin and Bills contend that the protest schools have at least three negative consequences for society as a whole. First, these schools contribute to educational resegregation in some areas. In some Southern, rural, "Black Belt" counties, a segregated all-white private school enrolls the white school children of the county, while the public school system remains largely black. This situation can be explosive. The public school is supported by property taxes. Whites within the counties often hold the bulk of the property. Blacks, however, make up the majority of the population and

therefore, potentially, of the electorate. Blacks, then, can vote millage rate increases which must be largely borne by white property owners who have their children in private schools. In some metropolitan areas, major portions of the white school-age population have defected to the protest schools. In Memphis, Tennessee, it is estimated that 25,000 students have left the public schools within the last three years, causing the public school racial balance to tip from fifty-fifty to 70 percent black. Memphis has seen also the emergence of whole systems of nonpublic schools, clusters of feeder elementaries and high schools sharing resources in a way formerly only associated with the larger religious systems (Catholic, Lutherans). In Jackson, Mississippi, reportedly half of all white students attend private schools.

Second, it is alleged that these schools affect detrimentally the economic condition of the South. In small communities particularly, the protest schools remove tuition dollars which might otherwise be spent in the local business community. Business, it is contended, will be affected, and in turn tax revenues will be diminished. It is alleged further that industry will show little interest in opening plants in communities which do not have a well-supported public school system.

Third, it is speculated that these schools will adversely affect the funding of public education. Parents with students in private schools, it is argued, will not support bond referenda. Often white parents who can afford to put their children in private schools are the opinion leaders in such elections. Protest academy tuitions are usually much lower than public school per-pupil costs. Parents in the academies may well oppose public school tax referenda on the grounds that public schools need spend no more money than private schools to provide a "quality education".

Not all the reported consequences of these schools are negative. Some

public school persons indicate that protest schools serve as safety valves, allowing parents who are most strident in their criticism and students who would be most likely to initiate in-school violence to get an education elsewhere. In a survey of 11 percent of the public school systems in the South, to be published by the Southern Regional Council, a major number of administrators reported this escape valve function was being served by the private schools in their area. Few of them reported that protest schools had more than a negligible impact on enrollments in their districts.

Apart from the racist overtones of many protest schools, which the major private school associations lament, resist, and oppose by means of amicus curiae briefs in the relevant (and increasingly frequent) court cases, the obvious strengths of these schools, some of which are noted by Nevin and Bills, raise serious public policy questions. For example: Is the marked internal disagreement of many large, heteogeneous public schools destructive of the human relationships that are most essential to effective learning, at least for most students? Are there periods in a child's life, as some research suggests, when having minority status in school produces ill effects that endure for a lifetime? Is collaboration between home and school, suggested by many recent studies as the most effective type of "compensatory" educational intervention, rendered almost impossible by the heterogeneity, and consequent pervasive hostility and misunderstanding, of a great many public schools? Is there any possibility that further studies will identify school homogeneity (or to put the issue another way, congruence between the values of home and school) to be so important pedagogically (even more important, perhaps, than lavish facilities and materials) as to outweigh the alleged advantages of attempting to use schools as society's major instrument of social reform? In characterizing the programs of the protest schools as

"weak and narrow", are Nevin and Bills relying too heavily on the conventional wisdom that emphasizes buildings and budgets more than human relationships, the same conventional wisdom that spawned the monstrous, conflict-ridden public school systems that now plague so many large cities? While rejecting racism, can we learn something from the protest academies?

JEWISH DAY SCHOOLS

The Jewish all-day schools represent one of the most active nonpublic school movements in the United States.[71] Since 1945, the number has increased from thirty-nine (thirty of which were in the New York City area) to slightly over 500 schools across the nation. Now that the four major Jewish groups--Orthodox, Chasidic, Conservative, and Reform, are supporting day schools, it is apparent that American Jews desire institutions to foster self-identification and knowledge about Judaism. It is now possible, in the eyes of many Jews, to be good Americans and also participate in Jewish day schools.

The largest and oldest Jewish day schools in the United States are the Orthodox *yeshivot*. Patterned after the European Jewish schools of the nineteenth century and brought to this country initially by the influx of Eastern European Jews following the pogroms of the 1880's, these schools now comprise some 435, rising from thirty-nine only thirty years ago. Similarly, the enrollment leapt from about 7,000 to 83,000 in the same period. Three young rabbis, having graduated from seminary in 1945, created Torah Umesorah, the National Society for Hebrew Day Schools, and travelled the country assisting communities in opening Jewish schools. Their success is marked by the existence of Orthodox schools in all Jewish communities of 7,500 Jews or more; twenty out of twenty-five with 5,000 to 7,500; and twenty-five day schools in 110 locations with 1,000 to 5,000 Jews. Table 4 shows the breakdown of

schools and enrollments in 1945 and 1975 for Orthodox day schools.

The orthodox school program typically includes primary emphasis on Torah and Talmud, with secular subjects "blocked" into separate hours, often allowing the school to hire part-time instructors (half-day) and thus save considerable funds.

The Nazi holocaust ("to burn whole") brought thousands of Chasidic Jews to the United States from Eastern Europe. In order to preserve their unique culture and religious practices, they created their own *yeshivot*, supported by the community and closely guided by the *rebbeyim* (rabbis). Numbering some twenty-five, these day schools use Yiddish as the language of instruction and begin religious training rigorously at age four. Included are *teffilot* (prayer) and *chumash* (Bible) up to age eight, when Talmudic instruction begins, including *Mishnah* and *Gemorrah*, interpretations of Torah and commentaries. While the Chasidim have organizations like the United Lubavitcher Yeshivoth, a network of day schools, they also join with fellow traditionalists, the Orthodox, in supporting Torah Umesorah. Hence, the data mentioned earlier for Orthodox schools also include approximately twenty-five Chasidic schools.

Table 4. Torah Umesorah-related schools and enrollments (1945 and 1975)

	1945	Enrollment	1975	Enrollment
TOTAL UNITED STATES	39	(7,000)	435	(83,500)
Elementary schools	30		290	(67,200)
High schools	9		145	(16,300)
TOTAL NEW YORK	30		197	
Elementary schools	23		124	
High schools	7		73	
TOTAL OUTSIDE NEW YORK CITY	9		238	
Elementary schools	7		163	
High schools	2		75	

Since the early fifties, the United Synagogues of America, the national organization of Conservative Judaism, has encouraged local aggregations of synagogues to open day schools. Called "Solomon Schechter Day Schools", after the late president of the Jewish Theological Seminary, these schools now number forty-six in the United States and four in Canada. Of the U. S. schools, five are high schools (some 10 percent). Remarkably, in a decade, the number and enrollment has more than doubled: from sixteen U. S. schools in 1965 to forty-six in 1976; from an enrollment (including Canadian) of 3,489 to 8,262 in 1976. The number of secondary schools remains small, as does their enrollment, though the increase from one school to five (enrollment increasing from 31 to 379) may foreshadow further expansion.[72]

In the last four years, the Reform Jewish congregations have opened five day schools (four in the U. S. and one in Canada). Their small number should not be permitted to obscure the dramatic shift in attitude they represent, for at one time Jewish day schools were unheard of in Reform Jewish circles. The four U. S. schools were founded locally, by single congregations, with guidance but no financial assistance from the national Reform organization, the Union of American Hebrew Congregations (UAHC). Unlike the national direction Orthodox communities received from Torah Umesorah and Conservative communities received from the United Synagogues, Reform Jewish schools grew primarily out of grass-roots efforts of parents, most frequently developing out of well-established Jewish pre-schools. Currently, the UAHC Department of Education seems quite enthusiastic about the success of the four existing U. S. Reform Jewish schools (with 260 students and twenty-seven staff). It foresees a number of others opening within the next few years. At a day school conference held at the UAHC, eighteen congregations expressed an interest in starting their own day schools.

The program of Reform day schools is liberal, attempting to integrate Jewish ideals and secular subjects through "open" classrooms and "humanistic" approaches. These schools seek a general education, placing little emphasis on Biblical-Talmudic studies. They attempt to show how the ideals of Judaism and secular life meld into a Jewish identification through a modern curriculum.

THE INDEPENDENT SCHOOLS

A major group of schools, hardy but difficult to differentiate precisely, is known generally as "independent", rather than "private", "parochial", or "nonpublic".[73] Included in this category are the renowned preparatory schools, some of the highly selective religious schools within the Quaker, Roman Catholic, and Episcopal groups, and numerous military schools (discussed more fully elsewhere). Charging tuitions ranging from $2,000 for day schools to over $4,000 for boarding schools, the majority of the independent schools are highly selective and college preparatory, providing rigorous curricula and strong extra-curricular programs, and sending many graduates to the more reputable liberal arts colleges.

Part of the problem of gathering data on these schools lies in their inconsistent and often overlapping membership in national and regional organizations. Many do not belong to the National Association of Independent Schools (NAIS), the primary national organization serving independent schools. Many belong to NAIS *and* other associations--such as the National Association of Episcopal Schools, the Friends Council on Education, and the National Catholic Education Association. Despite these complications, however, important clues can be gleaned from data gathered by NAIS.

Among the 775 member institutions of the NAIS, three major trends in the past decades appear from available data:[74] a shift in numbers from single-

sex to coeducational schools, from boarding to day schools, and from military to nonmilitary schools. One hundred and ten single-sex schools became coeducational by a change in recruitment policy; eighty-three more went coed by merging with other single-sex institutions. Overall, the number of girls-only schools shifted from 166 in 1964-65 to 116 (a reduction of 30 percent) in 1975-76; boys-only schools declined by 111 schools (from 255 to 144), a change of 43 percent. The number of coeducational schools increased from 261 in 1964-65 to 541 in 1974-75, almost doubling.

During the same period, NAIS reports a decline in the number of boarding schools, from 217 to 186 (-14 percent) but an increase in the number of day schools, from 465 to 588, a gain of 26 percent. By 1975, 76 percent of all NAIS schools were day schools.

Taken as a group, NAIS schools appear to have weathered the effects on their budgets and enrollments of the spiraling costs which have characterized the past decade. Besides an increase in the number of schools, NAIS has witnessed a steady growth in overall student enrollments, averaging 1 to 2 percent yearly. In 1965, for example, enrollment numbered 199,329; by 1975, the figures had reached 277,406.[75] Similarly, the overall increase in number of schools, while not as large, showed increases: 703 to 770 schools in the decade 1965 to 1975.[76]

Executives of NAIS attribute the movement's renewed vitality to a number of changes. First, many independent schools have modernized their operations, using marketing techniques to recruit students and raise money, and streamlining internal operations to save money. Second, the economy has improved of late, putting more discretionary money into the hands of parents. Third, with fewer numbers of children, increased public understanding and appreciation of private schools, and a broader middle class, more families are now

considering private education within their reach. Fourth, as professional careers are becoming harder to obtain, more families appear to be willing to make an investment in the intensive preparation offered by many private schools. We suspect that the current wave of disenchantment with public schools is also influential in the recent growth of independent schools.

It is noteworthy, too, that the NAIS schools are concerned with, and have had some success in, increasing the enrollment of minority students, and in maintaining, despite inflation, scholarship programs enabling the enrollment of children from poor families to continue to rise (Tables 5 and 6).

Table 5. Minority student enrollment by racial/ethnic group, 1971-72 and 1974-75, NAIS schools

Racial/ethnic group	1971-72	1974-75
Black/Afro-American	9,627	10,753
Spanish-surname	1,610	2,704
Oriental	1,581	2,566
Native American	159	166
TOTALS	12,977	16,189

The surprisingly extensive experimental impact and community outreach of some of the more renowned independent schools has been documented repeatedly, though not yet widely acknowledged in the literature on education.[77] More recently, in what seems logically regarded as a response to the challenges and difficulties of recent years, NAIS has created a Commission on Educational Issues, a semi-autonomous organization that seems to be doing much to catalyze

Table 6. Financial aid, 1974-75, NAIS schools

Schools	No. of students aided	Amount granted (in thousands)	Percent of enrollment	Percent of total operating budget	No. of full scholarships
64 Girls' day	2,634	$ 3,188	10.8	5.5	581
19 Girls' boarding	503	961	14.3	5.7	90
50 Boys' day	3,527	3,864	13.5	5.9	619
39 Boys' boarding	1,854	3,346	21.6	6.9	299
237 Coed day	13,945	16,784	12.3	6.5	3,983
59 Coed day elem.	1,255	1,155	9.9	5.7	300
63 Coed boarding	4,502	8,367	26.3	8.7	697
531	28,220	$37,665			6,569

new cooperative programs between public and independent schools, new experimental ventures in independent schools, and particularly, efforts designed to involve these schools in mainstream educational research and development.[78] Systematic work is being carried out to clarify and even reformulate the fundamental *raison d'etre* of the independent school.

EPISCOPAL SCHOOLS

Like several other church-related groups, the Episcopal schools have shown dramatic increases of late. In 1965-66, there were 374 schools with an overall enrollment of 59,953.[79] By 1970, the numbers had reached 395 schools with 65,745 students. In 1975, the number of schools totalled 402 and the enrollment, 76,556 students.

A number of reasons are given for the growth of these schools. In urban and metropolitan areas, Episcopal schools often have strong reputations for academic excellence. As middle class and upper middle class families seek to provide children with a love of learning and entry into white-collar jobs, Episcopal schools often are sought out. Further, Episcopal schools are perceived, their spokesmen claim, as value-oriented without being doctrinnaire. Hence, families of other religions feel free to enroll their children; only 30 percent of students in Episcopal schools are Episcopalians. And finally, leaders in Episcopal education see the continued decline in public education as a contributing factor.

The growth of Episcopal schools in the South has sometimes been linked with racial escapism. According to its leaders, the National Association of Episcopal Schools refuses to admit schools, whether North or South, that do not admit blacks and other minorities. As a precaution, the National Association of Episcopal Schools checks with local bishops and with other

schools that are integrated to see if a school seeking affiliation discriminates against black students. The rise of the black middle class has made more integration possible in schools of this selective, often-expensive type.

Few strategies for overall planning and direction of Episcopal schools seem to exist. There is no central funding to encourage rational growth, not much staff at the national level to service these schools, and no central authority, as in other church groups. Hence, the spur to growth seems to be local interest, shown by local church people. Often, new schools grow out of the over 600 nursery and kindergartens operated by Episcopal churches.

The current condition of the three kinds of Episcopal schools reportedly is stable. The 600 pre-schools are on the increase. The 300 or so parish schools, mostly elementary, are receiving good support from their communities. About 100 schools are nationally renowned, often boarding, and old. Many are members of NAIS and prepare students for college and professional careers. The schools seem strongly affected by general economic conditions. Around 1970, things were bad, with schools closing and having to merge. By 1973, Episcopal schools were contacted by many more applicants than they could accept, and were generally on strong footing.

It is reported that the Episcopal schools survived the crises of the late sixties and early seventies with more readiness to emphasize religion, and generally more of an orientation to fundamental values.

FRIENDS SCHOOLS

The Society of Friends has maintained its own schools since the seventeenth century, when William Penn chartered three schools that still flourish today: Friends Select (1689), William Penn Charter (1689), and Abington Friends (1697).[80] Over a period of centuries, the slow, steady growth of

Quaker education continues. In 1965, there were fifty-one schools; by 1976, the number reached sixty-three.[81] Similarly, the enrollment showed overall increases in the last decade, with only a couple of years of minor decline (-2 percent in 1972-73 and -1.1 percent, 1974-75).[82]

Much of the strength of these schools apparently rests with their humanitarian approach, open doctrinal position, and appeal to families that are not Quaker. In fact, only 7.5 percent of the total national Quaker school enrollment is Quaker. Furthermore, many of these schools have excellent academic reputations, a trait particularly attractive to families in areas with weak public schools. Though tuitions are sizable (running between $800 and $1,350 for elementary schools, from $1,520 to $2,470 for secondary, and $3,700 to $4,200 for boarding schools) they rarely cover operating costs. Fund raising and endowment usually make up the difference. Also, these schools keep costs down by paying teachers, on the average, only three-quarters of the salaries received by public school teachers in the same area.

In spite of close budgets, Quaker schools have been particularly successful in extending their programs to minorities. The percentage black, for example, rose nationally from 5.1 percent in 1968-69 to 12.4 percent in 1974-75. Numerous patrons of Friends Select School in Philadelphia, for example, have asserted that they value the school particularly because, in their minds, it presents the best available opportunity for a harmonious interaction of mainstream and minority students.

The current conditions in Quaker schools reportedly are stable. With a long history and a strong reputation, there seems little doubt as to their continuing.

MILITARY SCHOOLS

In the last two decades, military schools have had more than their share of problems. The recent war in Vietnam, general suspicion of the military, the mistaken but widespread impression that spit-and-polish is emphasized at the expense of academic excellence and other important values, and perhaps a certain popular preference in recent years for less structured educational settings -- all these apparently have taken their toll, though the pendulum appears to be swinging the other way, producing conditions more favorable to this type of school.

Though little systematic information seems available, the Association of Military Colleges and Schools of the United States reports that there are about fifty military pre-collegiate schools today, down from some 169 in the 1950's.[83] Of the fifty, thirty are currently members of the Association. Some have closed because of declining enrollment and revenues, and others are still open but no longer military in identification (though they may still support a Junior ROTC).

The enrollment in military schools can only be extrapolated from twenty-one schools that responded to a recent survey by the Association of Military Colleges and Schools. Overall, the average enrollment was 335. If the three largest military schools are discarded, the average enrollment is 272. Hence, estimating that there are fifty schools, we come up with a guesstimate of 13,600 students in military schools in 1975.

Though we have only impressionistic data and scattered reports, we sense that the military schools are having a comeback. The absence of war and the creation of all-volunteer armed forces have perhaps changed the image of the military. The values stressed in military schools, such as respect for authority, patriotism, and discipline, are becoming more attractive to many families.

The military schools themselves are practicing proven techniques of marketing as never before, stressing their strong points and contacting alumni and friends systematically. Our sense is, then, that military schools are rallying, though the future is not totally clear.

GREEK-AMERICAN DAY SCHOOLS

Since the early twentieth century, the Greek-American community has grown steadily, to almost two million, and so have the number and size of their day schools.[84] In 1908, the first day school, the Socrates School of Chicago, was opened; and in 1909, the second, the Holy Trinity School in Lowell, Massachusetts. Today, there are a total of nineteen, with an enrollment total of 5,009. Each day school is attached to a church or cathedral, sometimes with a priest providing some guidance and leadership, though with great differences from school to school in modus operandi.

According to Emmanuel Hatziemmanual, head of education for the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America, Greek-American schools have developed along with the rise in immigration in those centers like New York and Chicago where Greeks tended to settle. As the congregations paid off the mortgages on their churches, they were able to invest in schools. With the beginnings of assimilation come fears of loss of religious direction and culture. According to Hatziemmanual, the idea of a day school became acceptable to local leadership only when culture, religion and faith were seen as interwoven.

The idea of day school, once implanted, is nurtured by the leadership of the Archdiocese. Organizational, financial, and curricular assistance are available. Furthermore, the government of Greece provides certain books and materials free of charge, offers retirement benefits to American-based teachers,

and helps these U. S. staff to find jobs in Greece, when they desire. Also, students from the U. S. day schools sometimes travel to Greece to pursue their studies in boarding schools there, and teachers from Greece are given jobs in day schools located in the U. S. In areas with more than one school, the Archdiocese office brings staff members together for workshops.

There is little talk of emergencies or closings. Tuition, ranging from $800 to $1,500, is supplemented by local church support, materials and support from the Archdiocean office, and help from the Greek government.

MENNONITE SCHOOLS

The number of Mennonite high school students increased steadily until 1966, declined by about nine percent during the late 1960's and has increased steadily since then.[85] Nearly 2,500 students now take part in Mennonite secondary education, a number 200 greater than were using these schools in 1965. Most Mennonite high schools (generally called "academies") were founded during World War II, when children from pacifist homes encountered brutal pressures in most public high schools.[86] Motivations behind the Mennonite high schools during this period are characterized by a spokesman for the Mennonite Board of Education as "the safeguarding mentality". At present it is estimated that from 25 to 50 percent of Mennonite families, depending on the area, patronize the local Mennonite high school, when one is available. The current per-pupil operating costs in these schools average between $1,200 and $1,400 per year, though strenuous efforts are made to minimize the burden on families that use the schools by providing rather extensive assistance through Mennonite congregations. In some schools, for example, supporting congregations are billed for the cost of educating all the students from that congregation, the congregation then being free to decide how the money will

be raised. In such congregations the expectation often is that parents will increase their church giving. Such an approach to school support appeals to parents because their school contributions are tax deductable. Were they to pay all costs through tuition, no tax breaks would be realized.

It is reported that the Mennonite high schools have lost much of their "safeguarding" spirit, a major patron motivation now being dissatisfaction with the public schools. Evidence of the loss of the safeguarding spirit is the growing willingness of Mennonite high schools to compete with public schools in athletic events and the part-time participation of Mennonite students in cooperative career centers or vocational-technical schools built to serve both public and private schools.

Mennonite elementary schools are largely a Pennsylvania phenomenon, about 70 percent of the enrollment being maintained there. Like the high schools, the grade schools reported declines after 1965, but have shown some resurgence since 1970. In 1965, the Mennonite Yearbook listed 251 elementary schools enrolling 10,947 students. The 1970 Yearbook listed just sixty-eight schools enrolling 5,163 students. Part of the explanation for this dramatic drop is that the 1965 listings included some Amish schools. (In the 1970 report they no longer were listed.) In 1976, seventy-eight schools and 5,589 students were reported.

NONPUBLIC ALTERNATIVE SCHOOLS

Alternative schools of all kinds--community, parent coop, free, freedom and new (they go by all these names)--have grown considerably, though not as dramatically as often believed. Stimulated by a growing concern over the perceived inhumanity and rigidity of public systems, these nonpublic alternatives have been the subject of surveys conducted in 1970 and 1971, and more

recently, around 1974 and 1975.[87] While no one boasts of having located all these schools, we can state that there has been an approximate increase from 340 private community schools in 1970 to 467 in 1975, a rise of 37 percent in five years. As is shown in Table 7, the number of privately supported alternatives seems lower than the 800 or 900 often quoted in new school circles. As we analyzed the data sources, we saw that a large number of *public* alternatives were included. Since the alternative school movement has always included innovators from both public and private schools, we take note of public programs, though we exclude them from this study.

When the enrollment, as opposed to the number of schools, is considered, however, one sees remarkable growth in a five-year period: from 13,140 students in 1970 to 23,497 in 1975 (an increase of 79 percent), based on surveys made in those years. This expansion is even more startling when one considers the large number of new school openings since 1970 (only 148 of the original 340 schools are still around).

Table 7. Summary of number and enrollment for private alternative schools (1970-1975)

	Year	Total	Elementary	Secondary	K-12	Boarding
1.	1970-71 (Cooper/Graubard data)	340	189	89	34	28
	Enrollment total	13,142				
2.	1973-74 (New Schools Exchange Directory)	383	193	90	51	49
3.	1974-75 (Supplement to Directory)	467	257	98	58	54
	Enrollment total	23,498				

The data seem to indicate a number of changes in the alternative school movement: first, the schools are larger, though they are still located in the nation's large, urbanized states like New York, Ohio, Illinois, California, and Massachusetts.[88] On average, schools in 1970 had thirty-eight students total; in 1975, the average had climbed to fifty-two. This change is part of a general thrust toward more efficiency and stability. Participants and observers alike seem to agree that there is now less rhetoric, there are fewer attempts to be "politically radical", and there is more settling in to hard work and teaching.[89] Second, alternative schools now are loosely organized into the National Coalition of Alternative Schools, a joining of the nation's schools through regional networks and meetings. Finally, these schools seem more directed and "business-like", as they focus on specific goals and seek funds to do special jobs. Many alternative schools now work with handicapped children, students with emotional, social and physical problems, or those who simply "don't fit in" in public schools. In fact, some of these schools are receiving or willing to receive state and federal dollars to do these programs. The future seems to lie with more cooperative arrangements to do educational tasks that public schools cannot easily do, under local school board assistance.[90]

4. COLLABORATIVE RESPONSES

Within current legal frameworks in the United States, most nonpublic school patrons are forced to "pay twice" for their children's education, once through public school taxes and once through the fees and donations required to keep nonpublic schools alive. One need not be an economist to

realize that, the higher public school taxation rises relative to family incomes, the larger will be the proportion of families rendered incapable of affording a nonpublic school, especially if the school is not heavily subsidized by a church or some other agency that spreads the fiscal burden beyond the circle of families whose children attend the school.

It is not surprising, then, that leaders of various nonpublic school groups have united, especially in the recent era of financial stress, in an effort to secure some kind of public subvention. Before 1968, most efforts along this line were focused on obtaining state and federal provision of peripheral services (e.g., health services, counseling, remedial instruction, speech therapy, busing, free textbooks) that could be regarded as aid to the child rather than to the school, on the assumption that the Supreme Court would not tolerate allocation of public money directly to church-related schools, which made up the bulk of the nonpublic school movement, for it was widely claimed that church-related schools permeated *all* their activities with religious meaning.

In a now-famous 1968 decision, however, the U. S. Supreme Court explicitly suggested, in what seems in retrospect to have been a regretted slip of the tongue, that a state might constitutionally support certain *secular* aspects of church-related schooling, since for constitutional purposes the secular and the sacred elements were separable.[91] Subsequently, bills were introduced into many legislatures, and passed in several states, with provisions to extend tax support to the secular aspects of church-related schooling. These bills virtually always contained elaborate mechanisms to ensure that none of the state funds would be permitted to be used for religious purposes. But the U. S. Supreme Court soon enunciated the "excessive entanglement" doctrine, which as applied in later cases, has

effectively outlawed virtually all imaginable forms of sizable aid to nonpublic schools.[92] What is notable for present purposes, however, is that the long, abortive effort to secure some assistance from government drew numerous groups of nonpublic schools together, often under the umbrella of state-wide lobbying organizations, and thus may have done much to demonstrate the benefits of collaboration, for the battle, though ultimately lost in the courts (at least for the time being), was won decisively in numerous legislative halls.

In many cases, these state-wide organizations of nonpublic schools still survive, or have been supplanted by others. The interests of such organizations typically have broadened beyond money-seeking to issues of state regulation and public acceptance and understanding. More importantly, there has arisen a national organization of remarkable influence known as CAPE, the Council for American Private Education. CAPE now functions in behalf of twelve national nonpublic school agencies which, in turn, serve or operate about 13,500 private elementary and secondary schools enrolling 90 percent of all children attending private schools. Member organizations are the American Lutheran Church, the American Montessori Society, the Association of Military Colleges and Schools of the U. S., the Friends Council on Education, the Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod, the National Association of Episcopal Schools, the National Association of Independent Schools, the National Catholic Educational Association, the National Society for Hebrew Day Schools, the National Union of Christian Schools, the United States Catholic Conference, and the National Association of Private Schools for Exceptional Children.

The Council has two purposes: to promote the vitality of the Nation's private schools; and to enhance their contribution to American education and

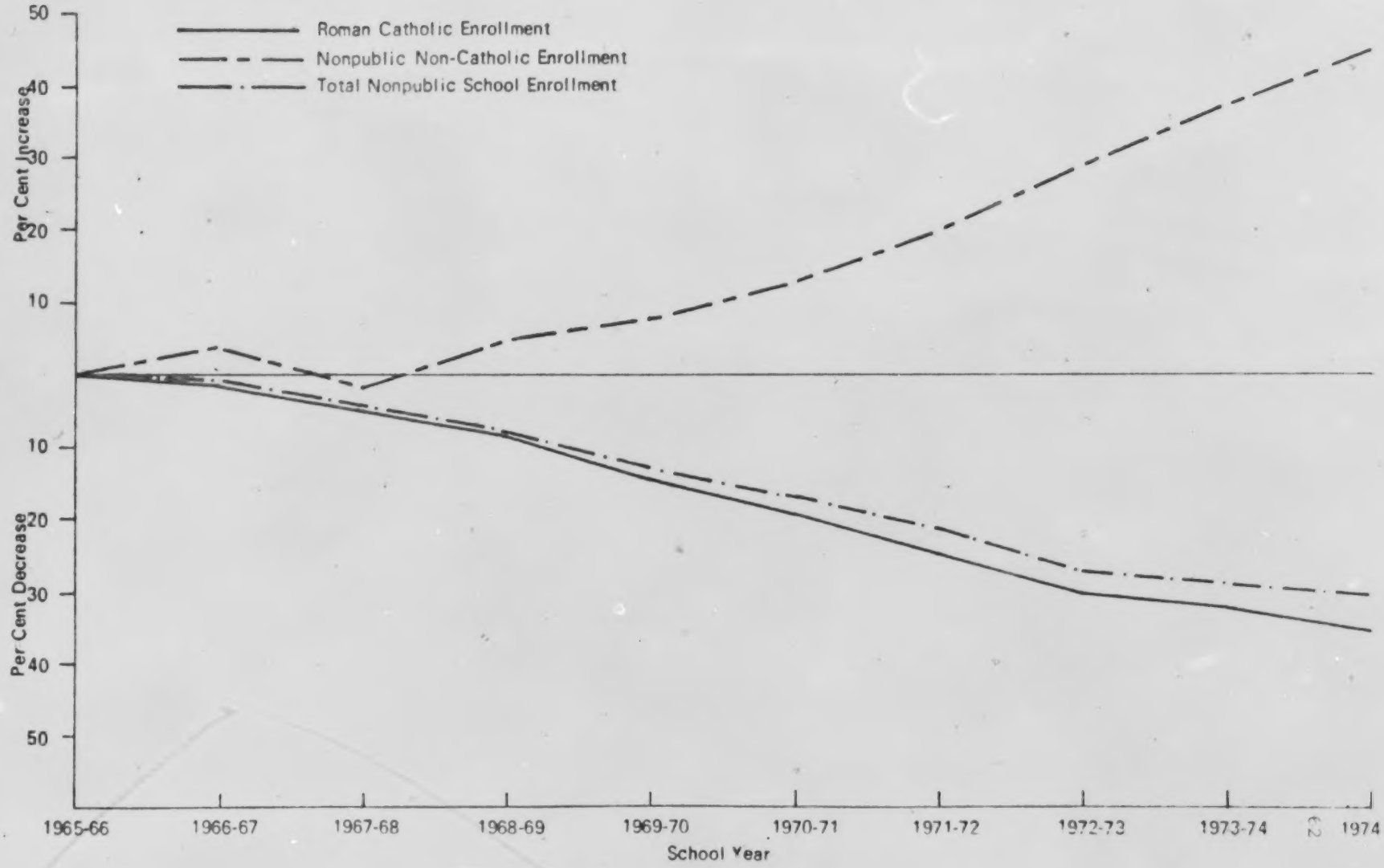
society. To achieve these purposes, CAPE has undertaken to encourage the sharing of resources among member organizations; to stimulate the effective utilization of the CAPE communications system; to promote the development of state private school groups; to establish and maintain relationships with the Federal Administration and Congress; to keep abreast of developments in the courts; to develop contacts with leading professional, scholarly, and other education-related organizations, including teacher training institutions; to foster research related to private education; and to create a sound financial base for the long-term support of the Council's efforts. The Council has drawn strong support from widely representative national leaders in government, higher education, and the private school community.

5. GENERALIZATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

The most important generalization to be drawn from enrollment data in the present study is that, while Catholic schools exhibited significant losses during the past ten years (1965-66 to 1975-76), this trend was generally resisted or reversed in the nonpublic schools not affiliated with the Catholic church. The contrast between Catholic and non-Catholic schools, obscured in much of the data because of the numerical dominance of the Catholic schools, comes through clearly whenever one graphs the Catholic and non-Catholic trends separately, as in Figure 1 from the Pennsylvania Department of Education. In the light of our information, similar graphs could be drawn for many other states and for the nation as a whole.

Some important qualifications must be voiced, however. First, the attrition rate of Catholic schools has subsided to a rather negligible figure.

FIGURE 1
PER CENT CHANGE IN NONPUBLIC SCHOOL ENROLLMENT BY ROMAN CATHOLIC AND NON-ROMAN CATHOLIC ENROLLMENT BASED ON 1965-66 SCHOOL YEAR



SOURCE: Pennsylvania Department of Education, "Out Schools Today," Vol. 14, No. 4, p. 7.

Whatever forces produced the severe setbacks of the late sixties and early seventies have been mitigated or counteracted. Second, the growth of non-Catholic nonpublic schools has not been entirely universal and uninterrupted. A few school groups that have fallen out of step with shifting social values, at least temporarily, or have let themselves *appear* to do so (e.g., the boarding, single-sex, and military schools) have encountered difficulties during the ten-year period. And a few of the major church-related groups endured significant though not precipitous enrollment diminution around the middle of the ten-year period.

As a second general conclusion, the demand for nonpublic schools has taken a decided upturn, relatively speaking, during the past five years or so. On the basis of our tentative evidence on patron motivations, the upturn seems most pronounced in the nonpublic school groups that represent a strong protest against certain features of public education. The ethnically oriented schools, for example, protest the inroads of mass culture, many religious schools protest the alleged moral drift in public schools, and other schools seem to protest either racial integration, the "take-over" of local schools by distant bureaucracies, or both.

In the pages that remain, we discuss (1) some possible reasons why Catholic schools have encountered far more severe setbacks than other non-public school groups, (2) what appear to be the most important general factors affecting the vitality of nonpublic schools, Catholic and non-Catholic, (3) a few rather serious implications for public schools, and (4) some suggestions for further research.

As we have noted on numerous occasions in this paper, there is no way that cause-effect linkages can be determined conclusively with evidence of the type we have been able to gather, and the problem is complicated by the

lamentable state of record-keeping in numerous groups of nonpublic schools. The comments that follow, then, should be viewed as *tentative interpretations*.

It may be clear, years from now, that the serious Catholic school enrollment setbacks during the ten years under study are best explained by the fact that these schools, unlike any other nonpublic groups, were struck with a stunning combination of profound challenges, each of which reinforced the negative impact of all the others. To mention just a few examples: it was a massive fiscal shock, for a system subsidized enormously for decades by the contributed services of nuns, priests, and brothers, to have the supply of these religious teachers diminish drastically, to have the costs of the remaining religious teachers increase three- or four-fold, and to replace most of them with "lay" teachers whose salaries were astronomical by comparison. No other nonpublic school group faced the massive city-to-suburbs migration that Catholics have recently undergone, coupled with the refusal of church leaders to replace the old city schools with new suburban schools. (One can hardly attend a non-existent school!) But perhaps most fundamentally, no other nonpublic school group underwent the startling, rapid shifts in philosophical outlook that the Second Vatican Council symbolized. The doctrines that provided the old reasons for Catholic schools were largely swept away or "reinterpreted". Greeley, McCready, and McCourt insist that now "only a handful of Catholic theoreticians are prepared to defend the continuation of Catholic schools."[93]

We are inclined to think, in this connection, that the most generally applicable factor insofar as the vitality of nonpublic schools is concerned is a clear, well articulated *reason for being*. The nonpublic schools that have grown most rapidly during the past ten years seem undergirded by motivations not at all difficult to discern, though here again we wish we had more

evidence directly from patrons. These burgeoning schools seem to preserve the ethnicity of their constituency against the inroads of mass culture, or protect the young from an outside world defined as evil by the schools' religious doctrines, or protest the perceived take over by professional educators or distant government officials of a public institution once distinctly local in orientation, or endeavor to counteract a perceived moral decay in public education, or set up modes of operation considered more humane than the sharp-cornered social structures of the public school, or attempt to provide a no-nonsense academic rigor that no longer seems obtainable in public education. Examples of this type could be multiplied.

It also seems true, with the exception of nonpublic schools patronized mostly by the well-to-do, and by the protest schools that seem capable of inspiring unusual loyalty and effort from patrons and personnel, that the groups enduring most steadily, o'er moor and fen, o'er crag and torrent, are those with mechanisms that spread the fiscal burden beyond the immediate circle of parents with children in the schools. It seems to help, as well, if patron loyalty is reinforced by unequivocal church insistence that the church-related school is the place to send one's children.

We see profound implications for public schools in the data presented here. It is difficult to escape the conclusion, even in a study limited for the most part to data from secondary sources, that public disenchantment with public schools is reaching serious proportions, particularly in some parts of the nation. We do not regard this conclusion as necessarily an indictment of the public school system. It does appear, however, that disaffection over recent developments in the public schools may have reached a stage that calls for a fundamental reassessment of public school policies and governance structures.

Our conclusion concerning rejection of public schools as a cardinal reason for recent gains in nonpublic schools is based primarily on inferences from two types of evidence. First, our data suggest, though do not indicate conclusively, that growth among nonpublic schools generally (and stability among Catholic schools in some areas, in contrast to the decline elsewhere) has been most pronounced where public education has been in the most manifest disfavor of late, such as the Deep South, Florida, and the Southwest. Secondly, when we asked national school leaders from many groups what they perceived to be the reasons behind the recent revival of interest in nonpublic schools, the vast majority of them, across the full range of groups, reported many of their clients to be alienated from public schools over one issue or another, including drug abuse, loose discipline, sex education, controversial books, and lack of academic rigor. National leaders often indicated that they were not entirely in sympathy with those complaints, perhaps because they were in a position to bring more perspective to bear on public school problems.

Kraushaar has written eloquently, and even compassionately, about some reasons why new groups of citizens may now be willing to desert the public schools in favor of nonpublic schools.[94] "What", he asks, "has happened to the great American dream of the public school?"[95] He views excessive bigness and bureaucracy as part of the problem, along with the "protectionist, job-security, seniority unionism of teachers."[96] Also, the exodus of whites to the suburbs, and the influx (into city schools, at least) of many children whose home and neighborhood backgrounds ill fit them to succeed in the classroom, have encouraged more and more cities to regard the public schools "with diminished enthusiasm and growing disinterest."[97] Public school constituencies have become so heterogeneous and disunified that the educationists have often been able to take over, running the schools largely to maximize their

own interests. In contrast, the private school is usually a relatively small, autonomous local unit. Its teachers are usually selected because they resonate to its special ambience and goals. Students and parents patronize it because they agree with certain central aspects of what the school stands for, and thus they have much in common. There is often extensive parent and community involvement in support of the school. Little affected by recent debates about the defensibility of traditional values in our society, most private schools can clearly articulate what they promote. Finally, nonpublic schools may include important elements of religion which have been outlawed by the courts in public schools. Kraushaar views the gradual elimination of religion from public schools as doing "more to foster the creation of nonpublic schools than any other factor in our national history."[98]

There are many danger signals, we think, to indicate that attention must be given to the structural features of public education that may lie behind the disenchantment expressed in the continuing growth of some nonpublic schools and the stabilization of nonpublic schools which rather recently had been declining at an alarming rate. As Cremin argues, the original ideal of the common school (the public school virtually everyone would attend) was that it would be carefully attuned to the families and communities that it served, and from this standpoint, at least, it worked best where communities were reasonably small and homogeneous.[99] Perhaps, then, public education in many areas of the land has begun to lose its embodiment of the original common school ideal. School consolidations, the reorganization of small districts into larger ones, the growing power of organized professional educators, the growth of central school district bureaucracies, and the extensive intervention of the judicial and executive arms of state and national government, when combined with school constituencies which, especially in large city

systems, are impossibly heterogeneous and disunified, may have created an institution that many parents finally recognize as governed "from afar", habitually irresponsive to the values of home and community. To state the possibility in more negative terms, national leaders of nonpublic school groups often inform us, with expressions of sadness and concern, that many parents now view public schools as incongruent with the values of the home--as places where teachers, administrators, school boards, far-off legislators, and distant judges insist on exposing the young to experiences that parents consider harmful. It should be emphasized, perhaps, that the perceptions being reported here do not apply to all public schools, but rather to those which many patrons of nonpublic schools view as their only available alternatives to nonpublic schools.

According to tentative evidence encountered in this study, the events that trigger the final decision to desert public education (e.g., an incident involving drug abuse, a new approach to sex education, a court order to bus for the sake of racial integration, neglect of moral development, elimination of religious activities, teaching of theories incompatible with some church viewpoints) differ from area to area and from time to time. Even when the values reflected in the decision to patronize a nonpublic school are questionable, they raise an important issue: in the light of the spreading disenchantment, can the current structure of public education remain unchanged, especially when subjected to the strains of trying to achieve all kinds of fundamental social reform through the schools rather than through the agencies that are more directly implicated in the problems that the reforms are intended to rectify?

The need for extensive further research in this area of inquiry seems obvious and urgent. To cite just a few examples: The study which we have

scarcely begun, reported in these pages at the point where funds and time ran out, should be carried forward within reasonable temporal and fiscal parameters. There simply must be more data available in the national and regional offices of some nonpublic groups than we were able to wheedle and ferret out in the time available; more resources are needed for this. A carefully designed national survey should be conducted to test our tentative conclusion that disenchantment with public schools, and particularly the perception that these schools are no longer in tune with the values of the homes they serve, is a major reason behind the current interest in nonpublic schools--especially the often-lamented protest schools. Work is needed on the consequences of homogeneity (ideological, religious, ethnic, etc.) among school clients and personnel. The old liberal ideal of the "common school", composed of teachers and students from heterogeneous backgrounds and functioning as a strictly neutral forum for the exploration of competing ideologies and life styles, requires extensive, tough-minded reexamination, especially in the light of what we know (a) about the culturally biased "hidden curriculum" that exists in any enduring system of social interaction,[100] (b) about the circumstances children and adolescents need to develop a secure sense of identity and self-worth,[101] and (c) about the simplistic "cult of efficiency" logic that led to creation of our often-massive public schools and even more unwieldy school systems.[102] We must investigate cities (e.g., Washington, D.C.) in which upwardly mobile blacks have gravitated increasingly from the public to the nonpublic schools, and of the consequences, for both systems and for black families, of this fundamental shift. We require more knowledge of areas where, as an opposite development, the bulk of white students have moved into nonpublic schools, leaving public schools to the blacks; the long-term ramifications of this development, only sketchily alluded to

in available studies, could be shattering, as we suggested earlier. Studies of symbiotic relationships between public and nonpublic schools in times of rapid neighborhood change seem long, long overdue, especially in the light of the angry unsupported assertions on this topic that appear in daily newspapers. Recent experimentation in inner-city church-related schools should be documented, and its long-range outcomes traced. We ought to ascertain the track record of the numerous consortia, associations, etc., created by nonpublic schools under financial stress. Further work is called for concerning the assumption, made by Nevin and Bills in their "protest school" study, and by many other scholars in other contexts, that there is widespread consensus in our society, or even empirical evidence, to support certain ideas, very common among professional educators, of what constitutes the "good" school. It may turn out, ironically, that the nation's nonpublic schools provide the most promising research laboratory for finding solutions to some problems in public schools, to say nothing of the fact that we should assuage the current widespread ignorance about the nonpublic schools that enroll almost 10 per cent of the nation's students at elementary and secondary levels.

NOTES

[1] Otto F. Kraushaar, *American Nonpublic Schools: Patterns of Diversity* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1972), pp. 12-17.

[2] Ibid., p. 14

[3] Ibid.

[4] Ibid., p. 15

[5] Ibid., p. 16

[6] "School Enrollment Trends," *Church and State 29* (June 1976):6-8

[7] Ibid.

[8] Ibid., p. 8

[9] Ibid., p. 6

[10] Appendix A, Table 2A

[11] Ibid.

[12] Ibid., considering total enrollment, elementary and secondary combined.

[13] Kraushaar, *American Nonpublic Schools*, compared with Appendix A, Table 1A.

[14] Ibid.

[15] Office for Educational Research, University of Notre Dame, *Economic Problems of Nonpublic Schools*, Report submitted to the President's Commission on School Finance (Notre Dame, Ind.: the Office, 1971), p. 163. The study was also unduly pessimistic in predicting that "1970-75 enrollment will be decreasing at a rate faster than in 1965-70" (p. 163).

[16] John D. Donovan, Donald A. Erickson, and George F. Madaus, *The Social and Religious Sources of the Crisis in Catholic Schools*, Vol. II of Donald A. Erickson and George F. Madaus, *Issues of Aid to Nonpublic Schools*, A Report to the President's Commission on School Finance (Chestnut Hill, Mass.: Boston College, 1971, offset), p. 44.

[17] Appendix A, Table 2A.

[18] E. g., Office for Educational Research, University of Notre Dame, *Economic Problems*, Chapter 3.

[19] Office of Research, University of Notre Dame, *Economic Problems*, pp. 157-63.

[20] Ibid., pp. 175-78.

[21] Thaddeus J. O'Brien, "Enrollment Characteristics", in Donald A. Erickson, *Crisis in Illinois Nonpublic Schools*, Final Research Report to the Elementary and Secondary Nonpublic Schools Study Commission, State of Illinois (Springfield, Ill.: the Commission, 1970), pp. 6-9 - 6-11.

[22] Ibid., pp. 6-20 - 6-22.

[23] Ibid., pp. 6-13 - 6-17.

[24] Adrian Fuerst, "Coping With Declining Enrollment in the Non-Public Schools", paper presented at 1976 Annual Meeting of North Central Association, Chicago, Illinois, 30 March 1976, p. 4.

[25] Office for Educational Research, University of Notre Dame, *Economic Problems*, pp. 157-63.

[26] Fuerst, Coping with Declining Enrollment, p. 5.

[27] Office for Educational Research, University of Notre Dame, *Economic Problems*, chapter 3.

[28] Andrew M. Greeley, William C. McCready, and Kathleen McCourt, *Catholic Schools in a Declining Church* (Kansas City, Kans.: Sheed & Ward, Inc., 1976) p. 230.

[29] O'Brien, "Enrollment Characteristics", pp. 6-12 - 6-13.

[30] John D. Donovan and George F. Madaus, *Catholic Education in the Archdiocese of Boston: The Voices of the People* (Chestnut Hill, Mass.: New England Catholic Education Center, Boston College, 1969). Also, Office for Educational Research, University of Notre Dame, *Economic Problems*, chapter 1.

[31] E.g., Mary Perkins Ryan, *Are Parochial Schools the Answer?* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1963).

[32] Greeley, McCready, and McCourt, *Catholic Schools*, pp. 8-9, 29, 230-235.

[33] Ibid.

[34] The younger, better educated Catholics seem to have a *new* reason for valuing Catholic schools -- not primarily religious instruction, as before, but *superior education*, Ibid., pp. 227-228.

[35] The dollar potential is estimated at $1.8 *billion. Ibid.*, p. 259.

[36] Erickson and Madaus, *Issues of Aid*, Vol. III, Chapter IV.

[37] Research Division--National Education Association, *Shared-Time Programs: An Exploratory Study*, Research Report 1964-R 10 (Washington, D.C.: the Association, 1964); James E. Gibbs, Jr., et al., *Dual Enrollment in Public and Nonpublic Schools: Case Studies of Nine Communities* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Office of Education, 1965).

[38] "Suit Aims to Halt Title I Services on Premises of Church-Related Schools", *Outlook* (Washington, D.C.: Council for American Private Education, March 1976). Cf. *Meek v. Pittenger*, 421 U.S. 349 (1975).

[39] Donald A. Erickson, "The Public-Private Consortium: An Open-Market Model for Educational Reform", in Troy V. McKelvey (ed.), *Metropolitan School Organization*, Vol. 2: *Proposals for Reform* (Berkeley, Ca.: McCutchan Publishing Corporation, 1972), pp. 209-26.

[40] John D. Olsen, "Cooperative Efforts in Catholic Education", *Notre Dame Journal of Education 6* (Winter, 1975): 323-27.

[41] Table 4A, Appendix A.

[42] Table 3A, Appendix A.

[43] Greg Hancock, "Public School, Parochial School: A Comparative Input-Output Analysis of Governmental and Catholic Elementary Schools in a Large City (Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Education, University of Chicago, 1971).

[44] Ibid.

[45] Donald A. Erickson, "Nonpublic Schools in Michigan", in J. Alan Thomas, *School Finance and Educational Opportunity in Michigan* (Lansing, Mich.: Michigan Department of Education, 1968), pp. 209-91.

[46] See Kraushaar, *American Nonpublic Schools*, pp. 31-33, for a history of American Lutheran education.

[47] The data in this section were reported by Dr. Al. H. Senske, Secretary of Elementary and Secondary Schools, Board of Parish Education, Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod.

[48] See Tables 6A and 7A, Appendix A.

[49] Greeley, McCready, and McCourt, *Catholic Schools*, chapter 7. Cf. Robert Michaelsen, *Piety in the Public School* (New York: Macmillan, 1970).

[50] See *Statistical Report of the Lutheran Elementary Schools of the Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod*, 1975-76, p. 2.

[51] See Tables 8A and 9A, Appendix A.

[52] The data in this section were provided by Mr. Adolph Fehlauer, Executive Secretary, Board of Parish Education, Wisconsin Evangelical Lutheran Synod.

[53] The information reported in this section was provided by Mr. Donald A. Vetter, Director for Elementary Schools, The American Lutheran Church.

[54] See Tables 10A and 11A, Appendix A.

[55] See Kraushaar, *American Nonpublic Schools*, pp. 31-33.

[56] The data in this section have been provided by Mr. John A. Vander Ark, Director of the National Union of Christian Schools.

[57] See Tables 12A and 13A, Appendix A.

[58] This sentiment was expressed to us by Mr. John Vander Ark, Director of the National Union.

[59] Kraushaar, *American Nonpublic Schools*, p. 36.

[60] See Tables 14A and 15A, Appendix A.

[61] See Tables 16A and 17A, Appendix A.

[62] Data provided by National Christian School Educational Association

[63] See Tables 18A and 19A, Appendix A.

[64] Data provided by the American Association.

[65] Data provided by Accelerated Christian Education.

[66] Donald A. Erickson and John D. Donovan, *The Three R's of Nonpublic Education in Louisiana: Race, Religion, and Region,* Final Report to the President's Commission on School Finance (Chicago: by the authors, 1972).

[67] David Nevin and Robert E. Bills, *The Schools that Fear Built: Segregationist Academies in the South* (Washington, D.C.: Acropolis Books Ltd., 1976).

[68] *Ibid.*, pp. 19-20

[69] *Ibid.*, p. 21.

[70] Ibid., p. 31

[71] Information 'n this section was obtained from Rabbi Bernard Goldenberg of Torah Umesorah (National Society for Hebrew Day Schools), Chanach Shudofsky of the Solomon Schechter movement and the United Synagogues of America, and Rabbi Robert Syme, Union of American Hebrew Congregations.

[72] Tables 22A, 23A, Appendix A.

[73] Most of the information concerning schools affiliated with the National Association of Independent Schools was provided by Mr. Cary Potter, Mr. Frank Miller, and Mr. John Chandler, Jr., of NAIS.

[74] Table 5A, Appendix A.

[75] Table 25A, Appendix A.

[76] Table 24A, Appendix A.

[77] Cremin describes the important role of nonpublic schools (particularly the independent variety) in the Progressive Era in: Lawrence A. Cremin, *The Transformation of the School* (New York: Vintage Books, 1961), especially in chapter 5. The astonishingly powerful role of a few independent schools in the "post-Sputnik" curricular revolution is documented in Roy A. Larmee, "National Movements and Independent Schools", in: Roald F. Campbell and Robert A. Bunnell (eds.), *Nationalizing Influences on Secondary Education* (Chicago: Midwest Administration Center, University of Chicago, 1963), pp. 105-18. The community-outreach of many NAIS schools is described in such documents as Edward Yeomans, *And Gladly Learn: Summer Enrichment Programs for Urban Children* (Boston: National Association of Independent Schools, 1965); and David Mallery, *Beyond All Those Books: Independent School Students in Community Service* (Boston: National Association of Independent Schools, 1965).

[78] The Commission on Educational Issues, currently directed by William D. Berkeley, has its headquarters at Room 301, 55 Chapel St., Newton, Mass. 02160.

[79] Most of the general information reported here was obtained from Rev. John Paul Carter of the National Association of Episcopal Schools. The figures on numbers of schools and enrollment are summarized in Table 27A, Appendix A, and drawn from the annual school directories of the Association.

[80] Much of the information reported here was obtained from Mr. Tom Brown of the Friends Council on Education.

[81] Tables 28A and 29A, Appendix A.

[82] Ibid.

[83] Our data are drawn from conversations with General Clifford B. Drake, director of the Association of Military Colleges and Schools, and from a recent survey of the thirty member schools, of which only twenty-one responded.

[84] Data were gathered from interviews, personally and by phone, with Mr. Emmanuel Hatiemmanuel, director of education for the Archdiocese of North and South America. He made available the *Yearbooks* of the Archdiocese containing a section on day schools.

[85] See Table 30A, Appendix A.

[86] The material provided in this section is based on discussions with Mr. Roy T. Hartzler, Assistant Executive Secretary, Mennonite Board of Education.

[87] Bruce S. Cooper, *Free and Freedom Schools: A National Survey of Alternative Programs* (Washington, D.C.: The President's Commission on School Finance, 1970) and Allen Graubard, *A National Directory of Alternative Schools* (Cambridge, Mass.: The Harvard Center for Law and Education, 1971). New Schools Exchange Newsletter, *Directory and Supplement*, 1973-74; and 1975.

[88] Table 31A, Appendix A.

[89] Bruce S. Cooper, *Free School Survival* (Sarasota, Fla.: Omni-Press, 1975).

[90] Information was obtained from phone and personal discussions with Jack Wuest of the Alternative Schools Network, Chicago, and Bill Harwood of the New Schools Exchange, Pettigrew, Arkansas.

[91] *Bd. of Educ. v. Allen*, 392 U.S. 236, 88 S. Ct. 1923, 20 L. Ed. 2d 1060 (1968).

[92] For a relatively comprehensive discussion of the legal issues, see Donald A. Erickson, "Legal Impediments to Private Educational Alternatives", in Clifford P. Hooker (ed.), *Law and Education*, Seventy-Seventh Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978, forthcoming).

[93] Greeley, McCready, and McCourt, *Catholic Schools*, p. 9.

[94] Otto F. Kraushaar, *Schools in a Changing City: An Overview of Baltimore's Private Schools* (Baltimore, Md.: The Sheridan Foundation, 1976).

[95] Ibid., p. 2.

[96] Ibid., p. 4.

[97] Ibid., p. 5

[98] Ibid., p. 12.

[99] Lawrence A. Cremin, *The Genius of American Education* (New York: Random House, Vintage Books, 1965).

[100] Jane R. Martin, "What Should We Do with a Hidden Curriculum When We Find One?" *Curriculum Inquiry* 6 (1976): 135-151.

[101] Urie Bronfenbrenner, "Reunification with Our Children", *Inequality in Education*, No. 12 (July, 1972): 10-20.

[102] Note the emphasis on curricular features and the neglect of the effects of children of larger, more bureaucratized schools in such works as Leslie L. Chisholm, *School District Reorganization* (Chicago: Midwest Administration Center, University of Chicago, 1957). Cf. Raymond E. Callahan, *Education and the Cult of Efficiency* (Chicago: Phoenix Books, 1962).

Appendix A

SUPPLEMENTARY TABLES

TABLE 1A. Number of U.S. Roman Catholic Elementary and Secondary Schools, 1965-66 to 1975-76

Year	Elementary	% Change	Secondary	% Change
1965-66	10,879		2,413	
1966-67	10,843	- 0.3	2,358	- 2.3
1967-68	10,603	- 2.2	2,356	0.0
1968-69	10,338	- 2.5	2,248	- 4.6
1969-70	9,695	- 6.2	2,076	- 7.7
1970-71	9,370	- 3.4	1,980	- 4.6
1971-72	8,982	- 4.1	1,859	- 6.1
1972-73	8,766	- 2.4	1,790	- 3.7
1973-74	8,569	- 2.2	1,728	- 3.5
1974-75	8,437	- 1.5	1,690	- 2.2
1975-76	8,340	- 1.1	1,653	- 2.2

Source: National Catholic Education Association

TABLE 2A. Student Enrollment in U.S. Roman Catholic Elementary and Secondary Schools, 1965-66 to 1975-76

Year	Elementary Enrollments	% Change Previous Year	% Change Base Year	Secondary Enrollments	% Change Previous Year	% Change Base Year
1965-66	4,492,000			1,082,000		
1966-67	4,384,000	- 2.4	- 2.4	1,093,000	+ 1.0	+ 1.0
1967-68	4,143,000	- 5.5	- 7.8	1,099,000	+ 0.5	+ 1.6
1968-69	3,903,000	- 5.8	-13.1	1,080,000	- 1.7	- 0.2
1969-70	3,451,000	-11.6	-23.2	1,026,000	- 5.0	- 5.2
1970-71	3,356,000	- 2.8	-25.3	1,008,000	- 1.8	- 6.8
1971-72	3,076,000	- 8.3	-31.5	960,000	- 4.8	-11.3
1972-73	2,874,000	- 6.6	-36.0	927,000	- 3.4	-14.3
1973-74	2,714,000	- 5.6	-39.6	907,000	- 2.2	-16.2
1974-75	2,602,000	- 4.1	-42.1	902,000	- 0.6	-16.6
1975-76	2,525,000	- 3.0	-43.8	890,000	- 1.3	-17.7

Source: National Catholic Education Association

TABLE 3A. Urban, Suburban and Rural Dispersion of U.S. Catholic Elementary and Secondary Schools, 1967-68, 1970-71, 1973-74

Elementary Schools:	1967-68	1970-71	1973-74
Within Major City Limits	4,613	4,338	4,006
Major City Suburbs	2,595	2,286	2,176
Small Town/Rural	3,142	2,746	2,387
Total	10,350	9,370	8,569
Secondary Schools:			
Within Major City Limits	1,164	1,073	926
Major City Suburbs	596	505	466
Small Town/Rural	517	402	336
Total	2,277	1,980	1,728

Source: National Catholic Education Association

TABLE 4A. Minority Group Memberships in U.S. Roman Catholic Elementary and Secondary Schools, 1970-71, 1972-73

	1970-71		1972-73	
	No.	%	No.	%
Elementary:				
American Negro	174,000	5.2	201,000	7.0
Spanish Surnamed	215,000	6.4	184,000	6.4
Oriental American	17,000	.5	20,000	.7
American Indian	15,000	.4	6,000	.2
All Others	2,935,000	87.5	2,460,000	85.7
Total	3,356,000	100.0	2,871,000	100.0
Secondary:				
American Negro	38,000	3.8	46,000	5.0
Spanish Surnamed	47,000	4.7	50,000	5.4
Oriental American	4,000	.4	5,000	.5
American Indian	2,000	.2	1,000	.1
All Others	917,000	90.9	817,000	89.0
Total	1,008,000	100.0	919,000	100.0
All Schools:				
American Negro	212,000	4.9	247,000	6.5
Spanish Surnamed	262,000	6.0	234,000	6.2
Oriental American	21,000	.5	25,000	.7
American Indian	17,000	.4	7,000	.2
All Others	3,852,000	88.2	3,277,000	86.4
Total	4,364,000	100.0	3,790,000	100.0

Source: National Catholic Education Association

TABLE 5A. Lutheran Church, Missouri Synod Elementary and Secondary Schools, 1965-1975

Year	Elementary Schools	% Change	High Schools	% Change
1965	1364		24	
1966	1332	- 2.3	24	0.0
1967	1319	- 1.0	24	0.0
1968	1273	- 3.5	25	+ 4.2
1969	1230	- 3.4	25	0.0
1970	1207	- 1.9	26	+ 4.0
1971	1170	- 3.1	27	+ 3.8
1972	1238	+ 5.8	30	+11.1
1973	1236	- 0.2	33	+10.0
1974	1227	- 0.7	35	+ 6.0
1975	1225	- 0.2	36	+ 2.9

Source: Board of Parish Education, The Lutheran Church -- Missouri Synod

TABLE 6A. Student Membership in the Schools of the Lutheran Church -- Missouri Synod, 1965-1975

Year	Enrollment	% Change from Previous Year	% Change from Base Year
1965	171,966		(base year)
1966	170,516	- 0.8	- 0.8
1967	169,750	- 0.4	- 1.3
1968	167,199	- 1.5	- 2.8
1969	166,381	- 0.5	- 3.2
1970	163,386	- 1.8	- 5.0
1971	158,723	- 2.9	- 7.7
1972[1]	164,086	+ 3.4	- 4.6
1973	164,695	0.0	- 4.2
1974	165,540	+ 0.1	- 3.7
1975	165,604	0.0	- 3.7

1. After 1972 the Parish Board of Education included in their enrollment totals all special education and prekindergarten students.

Source: Board of Parish Education, Lutheran Church -- Missouri Synod

TABLE 7A. Student Memberships in the Elementary and Community High Schools of The Lutheran Church -- Missouri Synod, 1965-1975

Year	Elementary School Enrollments	% Change	High School Enrollments	% Change
1965	160,822		11,144	
1966	159,216	- 1.0	11,300	+ 1.4
1967	158,047	- 0.7	11,703	+ 3.6
1968	155,181	- 1.8	12,018	+ 2.7
1969	153,912	- 0.8	12,469	+ 3.8
1970	150.613	- 2.1	12,773	+ 2.4
1971	146,180	- 3.0	12,543	- 1.8
1972	151,482[1]	+ 3.6	12,604	+ 0.5
1973	151,476	0.0	13,219	+ 4.9
1974	151,885	0.0	13,655	+ 3.3
1975	151,969	0.0	13,635	- 0.1

1. Beginning in 1972, children in special education and pre-kindergarten programs were included in the elementary school enrollment totals.

Source: Board of Parish Education, The Lutheran Church -- Missouri Synod

TABLE 8A. Wisconsin Evangelical Lutheran Synod Elementary Schools, 1965-1975

Year	Number of Schools	% Change
1965	228	
1966	228	0.0
1967	232	+ 1.8
1968	237	+ 2.2
1969	235	- 0.8
1970	244	+ 3.8
1971	252	+ 3.3
1972	256	+ 1.6
1973	264	+ 3.1
1974	272	+ 3.0
1975	293[1]	+ 7.7

1. In 1975, the Wisconsin Synod also maintained 11 high schools.

Source: The Wisconsin Synod Board for Parish Education

TABLE 9A. Student Enrollments in the Elementary and High Schools of the Wisconsin Evangelical Lutheran Synod, 1965-1975

Year	Enrollment	% Change from Previous Year	% Change from Base Year
1965	27,448		(base year)
1966	27,572	+ 0.5	+ 0.5
1967	28,002	+ 2.0	+ 2.0
1968	28,634	+ 2.3	+ 4.3
1969	28,719	+ 0.2	+ 4.6
1970	29,050	+ 1.2	+ 5.8
1971	29,494	+ 1.4	+ 7.5
1972	29,656	+ 0.5	+ 8.0
1973	29,912	+ 0.8	+ 9.0
1974	29,981	+ 0.2	+ 9.2
1975	31,183	+ 4.0	+13.6

Source: Wisconsin Lutheran Board of Parish Education

TABLE 10A. Christian Day Schools of the American Lutheran Church, 1965-1975

Year	Number of Schools	% Change
1965	127	
1966	178	+ 40.2
1967	136	- 23.6
1968	134	- 1.5
1969	154	+ 14.9
1970	145	- 5.8
1971	141	- 2.8
1972	178	+ 26.2
1973	168	- 5.6
1974	159	- 5.4
1975	168	+ 5.7

Source: Mr. Donald Vetter, Director for Elementary Schools, The American Lutheran Church

TABLE 11A. Student Membership in the Christian Day Schools of the American Lutheran Church, 1965-1975

Year	Enrollment	% Change from Previous Year	% Change from Base Year
1965	8,795		(base year)
1966	10,662	+ 21.2	+ 21.2
1967	9,104	- 14.6	+ 3.5
1968	9,116	0.0	+ 3.6
1969	9,984	+ 10.0	+ 13.5
1970	9,926	- 0.6	+ 12.9
1971	10,284	+ 3.6	+ 16.9
1972	13,858	+ 34.8	+ 57.6
1973	14,614	+ 5.5	+ 66.2
1974	15,262	+ 4.4	+ 73.5
1975	16,121	+ 5.6	+ 83.3

Source: Mr. Donald Vetter, Director for Elementary Schools, The American Lutheran Church

TABLE 12A. Number of Member Schools of the National Union of Christian Schools, 1966-1975[1]

Year	Number of Schools	% Change
1966	215	
1967	217	+ 0.9
1968	218	+ 0.4
1969	217	- 0.5
1970	222	+ 2.3
1971	226	+ 1.8
1972	214	- 5.3
1973	211	- 1.4
1974	211	0.0
1975	211	0.0

1. U.S. schools only.

Note: Between 1970 and 1975, 37 new schools joined the Union, 18 schools closed, 4 schools entered mergers, and 21 schools resigned membership.

Source: National Union of Christian Schools

TABLE 154. Student Membership in the U.S. Schools of the National Union of Christian Schools, 1966-1975

Year	Enrollment	% Change from Previous Year	% Change from Base Year
1966	51,240		(base year)
1967	50,282	- 1.9	- 1.9
1968	50,637	+ 0.7	- 1.2
1969	50,301	- 0.7	- 1.8
1970	51.182	+ 1.8	- 0.1
1971	51,134	- 0.1	- 0.2
1972	51,571	+ 0.9	+ 0.6
1973	51,123	- 0.9	- 0.2
1974	49,759	- 2.7	- 2.9
1975	48,585	- 2.4	- 5.2

Source: National Union of Christian Schools

TABLE 14A. Number of Member Schools in the U.S. National Association of Christian Schools, 1965-1975

Year	Number of Schools	% Change
1965	228	
1966	230	+ 0.8
1967	224	- 2.6
1968	236	+ 5.4
1969	268	+13.6
1970	297	+10.8
1971	313	+ 5.4
1972	268	-14.4
1973	205	-23.5
1974	141	-31.1
1975	153	+ 8.5

Source: National Association of Christian Schools

TABLE 15A. Student Membership in the Member Schools of the U.S. National Association of Christian Schools, 1965-1975

Year	Enrollment	% Change from Previous Year	% Change from Base Year
1965	32,002		(base year)
1966	32,879	+ 2.7	+ 2.7
1967	32,139	- 2.3	+ 0.4
1968	37,107	+15.5	+15.9
1969	45,492	+22.6	+42.1
1970	50,860	+11.8	+58.9
1971	57,808	+13.7	+80.6
1972	53,144	- 8.1	+66.1
1973	32,611	-38.6	+ 1.9
1974	20,028	-38.6	-37.4
1975	23,185	+15.8	-27.2

Source: National Association of Christian Schools

TABLE 16A. Number of Member Schools of the Western Association of Christian Schools, 1965-1975

Year	Number of Schools	% Change
1965	68	
1966	102	+ 50.0
1967	132	+ 29.4
1968	146	+ 10.6
1969	162	+ 11.0
1970	211	+ 30.2
1971	246	+ 16.6
1972	308	+ 25.2
1973	350	+ 13.6
1974	408	+ 16.6
1975	504[1]	+ 23.5

1. During the previous year, the California Association of Christian Schools was rechartered as the Western Association of Christian Schools. Part of the increase in the 1975 figures reflects a geographic expansion of the Association boundaries.

Source: Western Association of Christian Schools

TABLE 17A. Student Enrollments in U.S. Member Schools of the Western Association of Christian Schools, 1965-1975

Year	Enrollment	% Change from Previous Year	% Change from Base Year
1965	11,388		(base year)
1966	14,659	+ 28.7	+ 28.7
1967	21,168	+ 44.4	+ 85.9
1968	26,012	+ 22.9	+128.4
1969	29,426	+ 13.1	+158.4
1970	32,327	+ 9.9	+183.9
1971	34,949	+ 8.1	+206.9
1972	39,360	+ 12.6	+245.6
1973	46,032	+ 17.0	+304.2
1974	52,459	+ 14.0	+360.7
1975	63,131	+ 20.3	+454.4

Source: Western Association of Christian Schools

TABLE 18A. Number of U.S. Assembly of God Christian Day Schools, 1965-1975

Year	Number of Schools	% Change
1965	31	
1966	40	+ 29.0
1967	34	- 15.0
1968	35	+ 2.9
1969	37	+ 5.7
1970	60	+ 62.2
1971	60	0.0
1972	73	+ 21.7
1973	69	- 5.5
1974	81	+ 17.4
1975	155[1]	+ 91.4

1. This increase reflects in part more systematic information gathering procedures.

Source: Rev. Hardy Steinberg, National Director, General Council of the Assemblies of God, Division of Christian Education

TABLE 19A. Enrollment Trends in U.S. Assembly of God Christian Day Schools, 1965-1975

Year	Enrollment	% Change from Previous Year	% Change from Base Year
1965	3,110		(base year)
1966	3,592	+ 15.5	+ 15.5
1967	4,059	+ 13.0	+ 30.5
1968	4,398	+ 8.4	+ 41.4
1969	5,123	+ 16.5	+ 64.7
1970	7,462	+ 45.7	+139.9
1971	7,008	- 6.1	+125.3
1972	10,827	+ 54.5	+248.1
1973	11,276	+ 4.1	+262.6
1974	13,157	+ 16.7	+323.1
1975	21,921[1]	+ 66.6	+604.8

1. Part of this major increase is attributable to more effective information gathering procedures.

Source: Rev. Hardy Steinberg, National Director, General Council of the Assemblies of God, Division of Christian Education

TABLE 20A. Member Schools in the U.S. National Society for Hebrew Day Schools (Torah Umesorah), 1965-1975

Year	Number of Schools	% Change
1965	323	
1966	330	+ 2.3
1967	339	+ 2.7
1968	349	+ 2.9
1969	362	+ 3.7
1970	378	+ 4.4
1971	392	+ 3.7
1972	401	+ 2.3
1973	413	+ 3.0
1974	422	+ 2.2
1975	427	+ 1.2

Source: National Society for Hebrew Day Schools

TABLE 21A. Student Enrollments in the Member Schools of the U.S. National Society for Hebrew Day Schools (Torah Umesorah) 1965-1975

Year	Enrollment	% Change from Previous Year	% Change from Base Year
1965	61,300		(base year)
1966	67,300	+ 5.5	+ 5.5
1967	68,900	+ 2.4	+ 8.0
1968	71,000	+ 3.0	+11.3
1969	73,000	+ 2.8	+14.4
1970	75,000	+ 2.7	+17.6
1971	80,000	+10.7	+25.4
1972	80,300	+ 0.4	+25.9
1973	81,200	+ 1.1	+27.3
1974	82,000	+ 1.0	+28.5
1975	82,200	0.0	+28.5

Source: National Society for Hebrew Day Schools

TABLE 22A. Number of Solomon Schachter Schools (United Synagogues of America), 1965-1975

Year	Number of Schools	% Change
1965	16	
1966	20	+ 25.0
1967	22	+ 10.0
1968	24	+ 9.1
1969	29	+ 20.8
1970	32	+ 10.3
1971	37	+ 15.6
1972	41	+ 10.8
1973	41	0.0
1974	43	+ 4.9
1975	46	+ 7.0

Source: United Synagogue Commission on Jewish Education

TABLE 23A. Solomon Schachter School Enrollments, 1965-1975

Year	Enrollment	% Change from Previous Year	% Change from Base Year
1965	3,489		(base year)
1966	3,903	+ 11.9	+ 11.9
1967	4,281	+ 9.7	+ 22.7
1968	4,683	+ 9.4	+ 34.2
1969	5,630	+ 20.2	+ 61.4
1970	5,860	+ 4.1	+ 68.0
1971	6,309	+ 7.7	+ 80.8
1972	6,733	+ 6.7	+ 93.0
1973	7,387	+ 9.7	+111.7
1974	7,837	+ 6.1	+124.6
1975	8,262	+ 5.4	+136.8

Source: United Synagogue Commission on Jewish Education

TABLE 24A. Number of Member Schools in the U.S. National Association of Independent Schools, 1965-1975

Year	Number of Schools	% Change
1965	703	
1966	726	+ 3.3
1967	768	+ 5.8
1968	766	- 0.3
1969	774	+ 1.0
1970	777	+ 0.4
1971	770	- 0.9
1972	779	+ 1.2
1973	781	+ 0.2
1974	774	- 0.9
1975	770	- 0.5

Source: National Association of Independent Schools

TABLE 25A. Student Enrollments in the Member Schools of the National Association of Independent Schools, 1965-1975

Year	Enrollment	% Change from Previous Year	% Change from Base Year
1965	199,329		(base year)
1966	220,722	+ 10.7	+ 10.7
1967	226,138	+ 2.5	+ 13.4
1968	244,524	+ 8.1	+ 22.7
1969	242,205	- 0.9	+ 21.5
1970	221,216	- 8.7	+ 11.0
1971	225,172	+ 1.8	+ 13.0
1972	260,350	+ 15.6	+ 30.6
1973	268,207	+ 3.0	+ 34.6
1974	275,352	+ 2.7	+ 38.1
1975	277,406	+ 0.7	+ 39.2

TABLE 26A. Subgroup Enrollment Changes in the National Association of Independent Schools, 1964-65 to 1975-76

Schools	1964 -65	1965 -66	1966 -67	1967 -68	1968 -69	1969 -70	1970 -71	1971 -72	1972 -73	1973 -74	1974 -75	1975 -76
Girls' day	0.6	1.3	3.7	1.4	3.2	1.1	-0.4	-0.9	1.1	-0.6	2.1	-0.1
Girls' boarding	0.5	-1.9	4.2	2.7	1.4	-2.2	-2.9	-7.3	-1.7	-1.2	1.4	1.3
Boys' day	2.7	3.1	1.9	4.1	2.7	1.3	0.2	2.3	0.9	2.1	1.3	1.6
Boys' boarding	2.5	2.2	2.9	0.6	0.9	0.0	-3.3	-0.9	-0.1	-0.1	3.4	1.1
Coed day	2.1	3.9	4.2	3.2	4.3	2.7	3.1	3.0	3.8	1.1	3.1	1.3
Coed day elementary	5.5	5.1	4.2	3.5	6.9	5.5	8.5	2.4	1.6	2.8	0.7	0.1
Coed boarding	0.6	2.0	3.1	2.6	2.3	-0.2	-0.7	-2.0	1.7	2.6	0.4	1.8
Total enrollment, all schools	2.3	2.1	3.3	2.6	3.3	1.8	1.1	1.1	2.1	1.2	2.2	1.0

This table demonstrates the year-to-year percentage change in enrollment for the seven categories of member schools, and the total membership.

The first column of figures shows the percent of increase in enrollment over the previous school year, 1963-64, and so on across the table (decreases noted by -).

The table reveals:

(a) The steady growth in overall enrollment for the total membership through the twelve year period.
(b) The decline (loss of students) experienced by the boarding schools, starting in 1969 and continuing through 1973. The increases in the last two years indicate that they are on the way to recouping their losses.
(c) A consistent growth pattern for day schools, with the exception of Girls' schools where gains and losses since 1970 have about balanced out. Weakness is noted also in the Coed day elementary category in the last two years.

Source: National Association of Independent Schools (Boston)

TABLE 27A. Episcopal Schools in America, 1966-67 and 1975-76

Schools/Enrollments	1966-1967	1975-1976	% Change
1. Enrollment total	59,437	76,436	+ 28.6
2. Number of schools	347	402	+ 15.9
3. Elementary Boarding	3	5	+ 66.7
4. Secondary Boarding w/ or w/out day students	92	107	+ 16.3
5. Military schools	8	2	- 75.0
6. Elementary day	102	239	+ 134.3
7. Secondary day	28	38	+ 35.7
8. K-12 schools	28	44	+ 57.1

Source: Directories of the National Association of Episcopal Schools, 1966-67 and 1975-76

TABLE 28A. Number of Quaker Friends Schools, U.S., 1965-1975

Year	Number of Schools	% Change
1965	51	
1966	51	0.0
1967	51	0.0
1968	52	+ 2.0
1969	52	0.0
1970	52	0.0
1971	53	+ 1.9
1972	53	0.0
1973	57	+ 7.5
1974	57	0.0
1975	58	+ 1.8

Source: Friends Council on Education

TABLE 29A. Student Enrollments in U.S. Quaker Friends Schools, 1965-1975

Year	Enrollment	% Change from Previous Year	% Change from Base Year
1965	10,878		(base year)
1966	11,119	+ 2.2	+ 2.2
1967	11,373	+ 2.3	+ 4.6
1968	11,600	+ 2.0	+ 6.6
1969	12,321	+ 6.2	+ 13.3
1970	13,706	+11.2	+ 26.0
1971	13,786	+ 0.6	+ 26.7
1972	13,430	- 2.6	+ 23.5
1973	13,948	+ 3.9	+ 28.2
1974	13,801	- 1.1	+ 26.9

Source: Friends Council on Education

TABLE 30A. Mennonite Secondary School Students, 1965-1975

Year	Enrollment	% Change from Previous Year	% Change from Base Year
1965	2309		
1966	2399	+ 3.9	+ 3.9
1967	2392	- 0.3	+ 3.6
1968	2297	- 4.0	- 0.5
1969	2175	- 5.3	- 5.8
1970	2196	+ 1.0	- 4.9
1971	2202	+ 0.3	- 4.6
1972	2170	- 1.5	- 6.0
1973	2283	+ 5.2	- 1.1
1974	2331	+ 2.1	+ 1.0
1975	2490	+ 6.8	+ 7.8

Source: Mennonite Board of Education

TABLE 31A. Enrollment Changes in American Nonpublic Alternative Schools, 1970 & 1975, Reported by State

STATE	1970	1975
Alabama	0	170
Alaska	0	60
Arizona	55	107
Arkansas	41	48
California	3,283	3,572
Colorado	176	578
Connecticut	306	581
Delaware	0	40
Florida	76	424
Georgia	20	612
Hawaii	42	176
Idaho	20	26
Illinois	976	2,122
Indiana	70	404
Iowa	0	68
Kansas	38	181
Kentucky	53	0
Louisiana	40	0
Maine	307	206
Maryland	139	65
Massachusetts	1,023	2,364
Michigan	103	784
Minnesota	396	429
Missouri	455	1,192
Nebraska	0	198
New Hampshire	137	64
New Jersey	323	25
New Mexico	199	541
New York	2,184	2,411
North Carolina	0	72
Ohio	365	1,912
Oklahoma	25	45
Oregon	88	245
Pennsylvania	298	714
Rhode Island	64	37
South Carolina	45	20
Tennessee	24	0
Texas	157	298
Utah	55	35
Vermont	208	192
Virginia	81	244
Washington	530	641
Washington, D.C.	97	977
West Virginia	20	6
Wisconsin	715	560
	13,140	23,498 (79% increas
	(39 states)	(42 states)

TABLE 32A. Enrollment Trends in U.S. K-12 Public Schools, 1966-1975

Year	Enrollment[1] (in thousands)	% Change from Previous Year	% Change from Base Year
1966	43,039		(base year)
1967	43,891	+ 2.0	+ 2.0
1968	44,944	+ 2.4	+ 4.4
1969	45,619	+ 1.5	+ 6.0
1970	45,909	+ 0.6	+ 6.7
1971	46,081	+ 0.3	+ 7.1
1972	45,744	- 0.7	+ 6.3
1973	45,409	- 0.7	+ 5.5
1974	45,056	- 0.8	+ 4.7
1975	44,700[2]	- 0.8	+ 3.9

1. Enrollment figures for the years 1966-73 secured from, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, National Center for Educational Statistics, Projections of Education Statistics to 1983-84, 1974 Edition. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1975, 21. Enrollment figures for the years 1974-75 secured from, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, National Center for Education Statistics, The Condition of Education, 1976 Edition. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1976, 16.

2. Estimated.